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ABSTRACT

This in-depth history of the Middlebury language schools was written as part of the celebration of the 175th anniversary of Middlebury College. Chapter one gives the general background of the schools. Chapter two discusses the founders of the German, French and Spanish schools and chapter three, the builders of the French, Spanish, German, Italian and Russian schools. Chapters four, five, and six are devoted to "Polices and Problems, 1946-70," "The Language Laboratory, 1926-1975," and "The Doctorate in Modern Languages, 1927-1975," respectively. The history of the four graduate schools abroad, located in France, Spain, Germany, and Italy, is discussed in the seventh chapter. "The Fifties and Sixties: Fluctuations and Successes" in the French, German, Italian, Russian and Spanish schools is the subject of the eighth chapter. Chapter nine relates the history of the two Oriental schools, the Chinese and the Japanese. Chapter ten is the conclusion and is followed by five appendices: (1) Sources and References; (2) Enrollments; (3) Master of Arts Degrees Awarded; (4) Honorary Degrees Awarded; and (5) Index. (CFM)

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THE
Middlebury College
FOREIGN LANGUAGE SCHOOLS
1915 – 1970

The Story of a Unique Idea

Stephen A. Freeman

**U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
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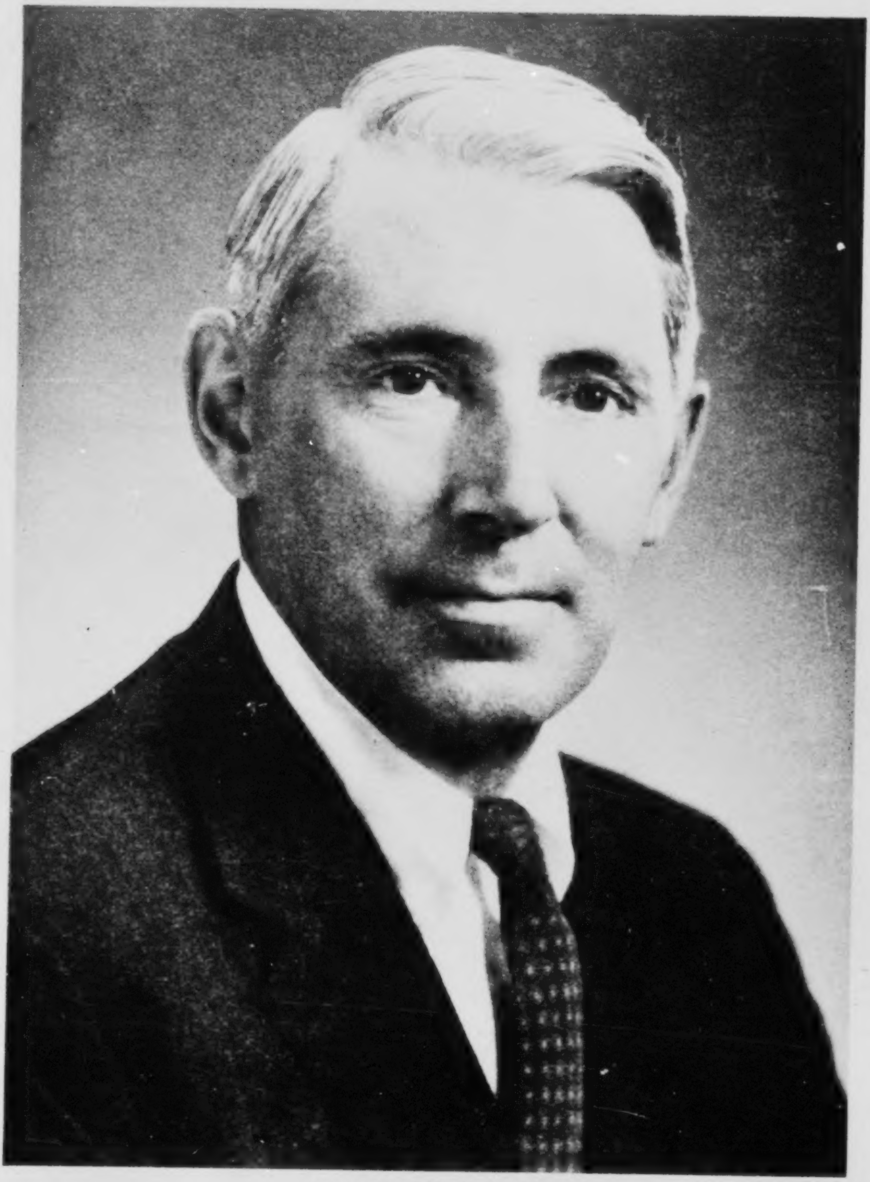
To My Wife Ruth

whose constant interest and
encouragement have been invaluable



JAMES I. ARMSTRONG
President of Middlebury College
and Professor of Classics, 1963-1975

Foreword

No other man—or woman—could have written so authoritatively the history of Middlebury's Summer Language Schools. Stephen Freeman was himself a direct and often crucial participant in that story for 44 of the 55 summers recounted—for more than half of those years as Director. He has held with high distinction more academic and administrative positions than any other colleague in the 175-year history of this College—for 38 years Professor of French, for 24 Director of the Language Schools, Vice President of the College for 20 years, and on three critical occasions, Acting President—no other professor has ever equalled the duration, diversity, and distinction of his 45 years of continuous service to Middlebury. Nor has anyone rivaled his masterly achievement in creating this College's international reputation in the teaching of foreign languages.

He aided in the pioneering effort to establish at Middlebury in 1926 the first individual-library laboratory. He helped to found in Middlebury's Summer Language program the Italian School in 1932 and the Russian School in 1945. He founded the Chinese School in 1966, and the Japanese School in 1970; in 1949 he established Middlebury's first graduate school abroad, the School of French, in Paris, and in 1951 the School of Spanish in Madrid, setting the format and standards for later Middlebury schools in Florence and Mainz. Dr. Freeman led in the development of the concept of the Sunderland Language Center, whose Freeman Language Laboratory, we believe, is one of the finest language-teaching facilities in the world.

Yet all of these accomplishments, sufficient twice-over for most lifetimes, were but the home-base achievements of an educator known nationally and abroad for his leadership in associations and programs to improve the teaching of languages.

His many friends and colleagues in those endeavors will be gratified that Dr. Freeman has now recorded the history of the Middlebury College Summer Language Schools with his characteristic thoroughness and felicity. We welcome this splendid contribution to our celebration of the 175th Anniversary of the College.

JAMES I. ARMSTRONG
President
Middlebury College

Preface

I am proud that the publication of this history is considered a part of the celebration of the 175th Anniversary of Middlebury College, and coincides with it. The year 1975 marks also the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the Language Schools. More personally, it is the fiftieth anniversary of my appointment to Middlebury College.

When I retired in June 1963, becoming Vice President Emeritus and Professor Emeritus of French, President Armstrong and the trustees asked me to continue as Director of the Language Schools. I am most grateful to them for permitting me to devote my whole strength and experience to the work I loved so much. The following seven years were very busy. The schools' enrollment reached a high point. I succeeded in founding the Chinese and Japanese Schools, which I consider among the significant achievements of my life. When I came to Middlebury in 1925, there were three summer language schools: French, Spanish, and the Bread Loaf School of English. In 1970, I was responsible for the administration of thirteen: seven on campus, two at Bread Loaf, and four abroad. For seven of them, I was personally in charge of their founding, and I assisted with the eighth, Russian.

On September first, 1970, I became Director Emeritus. It was a pleasure to work closely with my successor, André Paquette; and now with the new Director, Roger M. Peel, sharing gladly with them my information or experience, but only when they requested it. I continue to be vitally interested in all the Language Schools. Mrs. Freeman and I still reside in Middlebury, and we participate in many activities of the college and the Language Schools. The honorary degree of Doctor of Letters conferred on me by Middlebury in June 1966 is my favorite among the five honorary degrees I hold. Now, as an honorary alumnus and thrice emeritus, I find myself in the enviable situation of having all the privileges and none of the responsibilities of the college.

President Armstrong welcomed my offer to write this history, and I owe him a lasting debt of gratitude for his interest and generous support. I began at once the research on the early years. January 1971 was chilly in Old Chapel attic, where I found many archives under layers of dust and spider webs. The first draft of the manuscript took four years, but it has been a labor of love. It has evoked multitudes of happy memories of the thousands of friends I have made among colleagues, students, and associates. They are the true riches.

I am grateful to all who have read the manuscript and made corrections and suggestions, especially to Vice President Paul Cubeta, and to the directors and former directors of the schools. They have supplied much information, and I have had many helpful conversations with them. I mourn the passing of some since this work was begun. I have also been greatly aided by many of the college officers, notably Mr. Hileman, Mr. Huban, Mr. McKenna, Mr. Denney, Mr. Peterson, Miss Renner, and their staffs. There are undoubtedly errors of fact, for which I accept responsibility, since archives and memories are fallible; and errors of judgment, for which I apologize.

Such as it is, I give you this story, the greater part of my life.

STEPHEN A. FREEMAN

Middlebury, Vermont
July 14, 1975

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Chapter 1

THE BACKGROUND

Professor Lilian L. Stroebe of Vassar College opened the Middlebury College German Summer School on the morning of Tuesday, June 29, 1915 in Pearsons Hall. It was the first advanced, specialized and isolated summer school of a modern language in any college in the country. It marked the beginning of Middlebury's international reputation in the teaching of modern languages, and of its specific contribution to the preparation of language teachers.

Fräulein Stroebe has the distinction of synthesizing many different ideas, theories, and experiments that were current at the time. Indeed, the cover of her special Bulletin, published in February, 1915 which announces the opening of the school and states the basic principles of the Middlebury Language Schools, recognizes some of the antecedents of her venture. It reads: "Prospectus of the Third Annual German Summer School, conducted by Professor Lilian L. Stroebe . . . in connection with the Seventh Summer Session of Middlebury College."

The story of her two previous summer schools, and of the six previous summer sessions of the college, will be recounted later. It was an idea whose time had come. It started a chain reaction. The Middlebury French Summer School was begun the next summer, the Spanish School in 1917, and the Bread Loaf School of English in 1920. The broad background for that June morning on a hilltop in Middlebury, lies in the 115-year-old College tradition, in the ideas that were "in the air", being discussed everywhere by modern language teachers, and in the many factors that helped to shape Fräulein Stroebe's inspired initiative.

Middlebury College, founded in 1800, can pride itself on showing an interest in modern languages early in its history, and at about the same time as other older colleges of the day. In the Colonial period, the study of the European languages occurred chiefly in the French Catholic missions to the Indians; among groups of non-English settlers (Germans in Pennsylvania and Spanish in Florida); and among wealthy English-speaking colonists where French was taught as a polite accomplishment by private tutors and governesses. Franklin aided in introducing French and German into the University of Pennsylvania about 1754. Jefferson helped to establish the first professorship of modern languages in this country in 1779 at the College of William and Mary. French was taught in Harvard College in 1735, but only intermittently until 1817 when George Ticknor was appointed to the Smith Professorship of French and Spanish.

At Harvard in 1825, Carl Follen was assigned to teach German along with church history and ethics. Princeton—then the College of New Jersey—added French in 1772; Columbia introduced it in 1784, Williams in 1795, Yale not until 1825. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow was made professor of modern languages at Bowdoin in 1825. He followed Ticknor at Harvard from 1836 to 1854, and was himself succeeded by James Russell Lowell in 1854. The new branch of learning was not at once recognized as a regular part of the curriculum, and often it was not credited toward a degree.

The first Professorship of Languages was established at Middlebury College in 1810, with the Rev. Oliver Hulburd as "Professor of the Learned Languages"; but this meant Greek and Latin, as there is no mention of the modern languages. Greek, Latin, and Hebrew were really professional or vocational subjects, not primarily part of the liberal arts curriculum at that time. They were required of students "lest we leave an illiterate ministry to the churches." Still, when Frederick Hall, Professor of Natural Philosophy, returned to Middlebury in 1809 after two exciting years spent mostly in Paris, laden with trunks of books and scientific apparatus, he began at once to exert a powerful cosmopolitan influence upon the college and its curriculum. Robert Bridges Patton, A.B., Yale 1817, A.B., Middlebury 1818, A.M., Middlebury 1820, was appointed Tutor of Languages in 1817, then Professor of Languages, 1818-25. He proceeded to acquire the Ph.D. degree from the University of Göttingen in 1821.

The results of Hall's and Patton's influence were soon felt. In the 1821 Catalog, under "Senior Studies through the year", the following phrase appears: "The Hebrew and German Languages, to such members of the class as wish to obtain a knowledge of them." On the same page are indicated—"Lectures on Philology for the Junior and Senior Classes." In 1822, the Catalog, again under "Senior Studies through the year", indicates more precisely: "On Saturdays, the German Language." It is noteworthy that Patton introduced German at Middlebury three years before Follen introduced it at Harvard.

On December 10, 1822, Jean Baptiste Meilleur of Montreal inserted in the *National Standard*, a weekly newspaper published in Middlebury, the following notice: "*French School*. The subscriber, having come to the United States for the purpose of acquiring a knowledge of the English Language, and having accomplished that object, proposes to open a School in Middlebury, to instruct those Ladies and Gentlemen who may wish, in his vernacular language. The elementary principles of the French Language, the Etymology of words, and Accentuation will be taught *viva voce* by way of lectures. . . ." Directly below it, the Middlebury Female Academy of a Mrs. Parsons announced that "The Winter Quarter has commenced. . . . She has made arrangements with Mr. Lange to give lessons in French to her scholars, either one or two in a day as desired."

Six weeks later, the following advertisement appeared in the *National Standard*, and was repeated for several weeks: "*Medical School*. The Annual Summer Term of Dr. J. A. Allen's Medical School will commence the first Tuesday of April next. . . . [There follows a list of medical courses offered] . . . Also a course consisting of at least two Lectures a week on the French Language, on a new and improved plan by Monsieur Jean Baptiste Meilleur. Those who attend M. Meilleur's instruction can by proper attention acquire a sufficient knowledge to read and translate the French Language with dispatch, which is of much importance to Medical Gentlemen. Terms 6 dollars. Instruction likewise during the term to any who desire it, in the German Language, by Professor R. B. Patton." This notice was also inserted in the *Albany Gazette* and the *Brattleboro Weekly Messenger.*

M. Meilleur recognized the need for suitable texts. On March 11, 1823, appeared this *Literary Notice:* "Ready for the press and will be immediately published at this office—'A Compendium of the Principles of the French Language, containing all that is necessary and nothing superfluous, compiled from the best French Classical Writers, by Monsieur J. B. Meilleur.'" Unfortunately, no trace of this book can be found. M. Meilleur is listed in the Middlebury College Catalog of 1824 as a student in the Senior Class of Castleton Medical College, then a part of Middlebury College. Already the possessor of an LL.D. degree, he received his M.D. degree from Castleton with the Class of 1825. He returned shortly thereafter to Montreal, where he became a prominent citizen, and, it is reported, was elected mayor.

There were several other schools in the village which offered instruction in French at various times. A school advertized by William Deere on March 25, 1823, to be held "in the new Brick School House in the western district" (the Addison County Grammar School) announced that "the French Language will be taught by Monsieur J. B. Meilleur, whose Method and capacity in teaching his native language has gained him the approbation of the connoisseurs therein." Mrs. Parsons announced on May 13, 1823 that the Summer Quarter of her Boarding School would commence, and among other subjects offered were "Latin and French including Painting; terms of tuition $6."

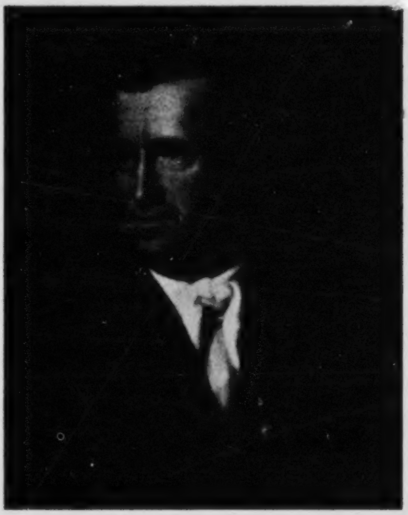
Whether because M. Meilleur became too busy, or as an indication of heavy popular demand, another French teacher appeared. An editorial in the *National Standard* on May 13, 1823 commented on the opening of a French School by a certain Mr. Hamilton. The editor confessed he was impressed by the explanation that Mr. Hamilton gave of his new system of teaching, saying that his "extraordinary pretensions" appeared to be well supported by testimonials from influential people and by wide experience. None of these schools was connected with the college, but it is certain that some of the college students took advantage of the instruction.

The next step was to give students an opportunity to demonstrate their accomplishments publicly. In the Commencement Program of 1823, there were Orations in Latin, Greek, English and French. The title of the French Oration was "Sur la Clepsydre." The word is misspelled in the Program; the printer used a "q" instead of a "y"; but we assume that only those in the audience who were familiar with French and with waterclocks noted the error. There was also a German Colloquy, presented by three seniors, who discussed in German "Alte und Neue Wissenschaft" (Old and New Knowledge). In the 1824 Commencement Exercises, there were Orations in Hebrew and German. The title of the German Oration was "Vortrefflichkeit der Deutschen Sprache" (Excellence of the German Language). In the years immediately following, there was no French or German Oration, although the Hebrew Oration was continued for several years.

I owe to Professor Kenneth McKenzie of Princeton this information: J. L. Russo in his book on Lorenzo da Ponti says: "By a curious coincidence, 1825 marks the date at which the first two chairs of Italian were established at Harvard and Columbia respectively with Pietro Bachi and Lorenzo da Ponti as professors." But later, Russo gives a letter of da Ponti, written in New York, November 7, 1824, which says: "Last week, I sent fifteen grammars, as many dictionaries, and some Italian books to Mr. Patton, professor in Middlebury College, where the Italian Language is much studied, and where they have a fine library of classical works of our authors." Although there is not much tangible evidence of Italian studies here, a senior gave a Commencement Oration in 1820, in English, on Italian literature.

Perhaps the best evidence of Professor Patton's interest in Italian appears in the 1824 "Catalogue of Books Belonging to the Library of the Philological Society of Middlebury College." Besides many grammars and dictionaries, there are 66 titles of Italian classical works—Dante, Ariosto, Boccaccio, Castiglione, da Vinci, etc., most of them published in Milan between 1802 and 1809. This section is far more numerous than the 17 titles in German literature—Schiller, Goethe, Lessing, published in Berlin and Leipzig, 1801-13. Only ten titles of French classics appear—Boileau, Corneille, Racine, Pascal, Staël, Voltaire; while in Spanish there was only a four-volume set by Calderón.

The first instruction in modern languages offered by the college was therefore in German in 1821, and probably in Italian in 1824, both taught by Prof. Patton. In 1825, Patton resigned, and Rev. John Hough became Professor of Languages. Although primarily a classicist, he inserted in the Catalog of 1827 and thereafter, under the heading "Extra Studies," the following note: "Assistance is likewise furnished to all who wish to obtain a knowledge of the Hebrew, French, German, Spanish and Italian languages. And for the acquisition



REV. JOHN HOUGH
Professor of Greek and Latin, 1812-1817;
Professor of Languages, 1825-1838

of any of these languages . . . great facilities are furnished by the free access to a Philological Library, which is open an hour every day under the superintendence of the Professor of Languages." It would appear that students could hardly do very extensive reading in the daily hour. Ink was strictly prohibited in the Library room.

In 1832, there was a French Oration in the Commencement Program with the title "L'Attachement au Lieu de Naissance" (Attachment to One's Birthplace). A Spanish Oration on "La Felicidad Humana" appeared in the Senior Class Exhibition on November 27, 1937. We can only guess that the senior, J. H. Weir of Philadelphia, had had some opportunity to learn Spanish elsewhere. Thereafter, foreign language orations disappeared from the Commencement exercises; they could not have been very popular with the general audience.

Language study continued, however, and soon became a part of the regular curriculum rather than an "extra study." When the Winter Term of ten weeks, December to February, was instituted in 1837 for the benefit of students who supported themselves by teaching school in fall and spring, the Hebrew, German or French Language was one of the assigned subjects for juniors and seniors. In 1838 French was given both as an assigned and "extra study," Hebrew and German disappearing for the moment. Then John Hough became Professor of English, and Solomon Stoddard was made Professor of Languages. He offered Hebrew, French, or German from 1841 to 1843, when the Winter Term was given up, and only Latin and Greek were taught through 1847. In 1848, German was added again as a "regular study" for second-term juniors, the only modern language offered, by Rensselaer Robbins '35, Professor of Languages (and later Professor of Greek and German) until 1872. A national trend toward German is evident at that time.

Nationwide, the strong early interest in modern languages did not show steady growth, in spite of the prestige of men like Ticknor and Longfellow. Until a decade after the Civil War, professorships and requirements, either for admission or for the degree, were alternately instituted and dropped in most of the major colleges. After the American Revolution, French had generally been the more popular language, partly as a cultural subject, partly also because of the colonies' gratitude toward the French, sustained by close political ties until after the War of 1812. German was still under a cloud because of colonial indignation against the use of Hessian mercenaries.

Sympathies changed, however, during and after the Napoleonic wars. Religious people reacted against the deistic and atheistic philosophies of Voltaire and Diderot, while there was great enthusiasm for the idealistic thinking of Kant and Schelling, discovered and popularized by the Transcendentalists. New educational methods in Germany, reported by Bancroft and Edward Everett, were followed with interest, and even copied in American schools. It became the goal of American graduate students in literature, philosophy and philology to acquire a German doctorate, and many hundreds studied at Goettingen, Heidelberg and elsewhere. The result was an increased interest in the study of German. Still, enrollments were small, and finances for professorships were limited. Even in 1885, in twenty of the major Eastern universities, there were only 31 professorships of German, 22 of French, and ten for Spanish and

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Italian combined. Middlebury shows up well by comparison, maintaining instruction in both German and French continuously after 1880.

The year 1883 is a milestone in the teaching of modern languages. Sentiment had been growing that the modern languages should be considered as equals of Greek and Latin in the college curriculum, and that the American Philological Association did not meet the needs of modern language teachers. Under the leadership of A. Marshall Elliott of Johns Hopkins, the Modern Language Association of America was founded at a meeting at Columbia University, at Christmas, 1883, with thirty-two members. The object of this organization was "the advancement of the study of modern languages and their literatures." From the start, it had to contend with the teachers of the classics who reluctantly relinquished their primacy, with the unscholarly native speakers who taught a superficial fluency as a social accomplishment, and with the philologists and natural scientists who saw in modern languages only a scientific tool.

The first task of the M.L.A. was to survey current conditions of instruction in the modern languages. The spread of the elective system had greatly encouraged their study, and increasingly some knowledge of one of them was required for admission or for a degree. As a result, the study of French and German in the private and public secondary schools had also increased; and secondary school teachers were looking to the colleges for help and guidance in textbooks and methods. The New England Modern Language Association, the first of the several regional language teachers associations, was founded in 1903, particularly to bridge the gap between colleges and secondary schools. One of its leaders was William B. Snow of the Boston English High School, later Assistant Superintendent of the Boston Public Schools, and a teacher of methods in the Middlebury French School in 1935 and 1936.

The rapid expansion of interest and enrollments in modern language study, not only in the United States, but in Europe as well, gave rise to much discussion of its objectives, and to intensive speculation and experimentation on new and different methods of achieving the objectives. There was naturally great disagreement on the "proper" objectives—intellectual and linguistic discipline, literary appreciation, cultural information, communication, tool skill, etc. There were violent disagreements and continual professional battles over the proper or "best" method to be used. In an attempt to solve some of the problems and arbitrate some of the debates, the Modern Language Association and the National Education Association in 1897 jointly sponsored a Committee of Twelve. Its *Report,* presented in 1898, remained until 1925 the "basic authority," quoted in content and even in wording in school and college syllabi and bulletins.

The pioneers of the Middlebury Language Schools were thoroughly informed, and in one way or another much influenced by the *Report,* the new methods, and the debates about them. Middlebury profited greatly from the ferment of ideas that occurred in the first decade of this century.

The *Report of the Committee of Twelve* began by discussing the "Value of the Modern Languages in Secondary Education." The greatest value was assigned to the introduction of the learner into the life and literature of France and Germany. "We attach the greatest importance to linguistic discipline and literary culture." The ability to read the language will of course be useful as a tool, in later study or as an avocation. But the ability to "converse" in French or German must be regarded as of subordinate importance, as an auxiliary to the higher ends already named, primarily because only an imperfect command of the spoken language can ever be achieved in the classroom, and secondly because the United States is geographically so situated that even if it were possible for a student to acquire a good command of the language, he would soon lose it for lack of occasion to use it. The section concluded: "If we teach a foreign language in our schools, it should be for the sake of its general educational value." Then, as if to leave the door open for a compromise—"At the same time, its potential value as a means of intercourse may very properly be kept in view" so that if later he needs to be able to speak the language . . . "he has an excellent foundation on which to build."

The *Report* then assessed one by one the five principal teaching methods then under discussion: the Grammar, Natural, Series, Phonetic, and Reading methods. The "Grammar" method, sometimes called the "Grammar-Translation" method, is modelled logically upon the one then being used to teach Latin and Greek. The pupil learns the paradigms, rules, exceptions and examples by heart. Small bits of the foreign literature are carefully analyzed and translated, as illustrations of the grammatical principles. The foreign language is never spoken; pronunciation is of secondary importance. Stating that this method had fallen into discredit, the *Report* defended it to some extent by maintaining that it trains the memory, and forms an excellent exercise in close reasoning and logical thinking. On the other hand, the *Report* admitted that it brings little contact with the ideas and culture of the foreign country, and does not inspire interest in the pupils.

At the opposite pedagogical pole was the "Natural" method, created by Lambert Sauveur and Th. Heness. Sometime in the late 1860's, Sauveur founded in Boston the School of Living Languages. He is listed as the Principal of the French Section; Heness as the Principal of the German Section. In 1875, Sauveur published his *Causeries avec Mes Élèves*. In print at the same time is the book by Heness *Der Leitfaden*, a *Guide for Instruction in German Without Grammar or Dictionary*, following the model of a similar book by Sauveur. Sauveur also published *Petites Causeries*, and *Causeries avec les Enfants*.

The method seeks the closest possible approximation to the way a two-year-old learns his mother tongue—hence, the "natural" method. The teacher points and names; the pupil points and repeats. The teacher performs an act and describes it; the pupil mimics and repeats. English is completely excluded; there is no translation; French or German is used from the very beginning; grammar is learned by induction but not explained; pronunciation is learned by imitation only; the pupil sees in print only what he is already familiar with aurally and orally. Literature and culture are relegated to the last lessons; Sauveur uses the fables of La Fontaine and a few literary anecdotes and references.

The method found immediate success, and aroused a furor of criticism and opposition. Conservatives of the "grammar" method pointed out quite truly that the "natural" method treated adults as two-year-olds, not taking advantage of their maturity; and that it ignored the fact that they had already acquired ingrained habits of pronunciation and vocabulary, and merely substituted sounds rather than imitating exactly. Other critics claimed that a good speaking knowledge is impossible to attain, useless even if attained, and not the proper objective of an education.

The chairman of the Committee of Twelve, Professor Calvin Thomas of Columbia, in a collection of papers called *Methods of Teaching Modern Languages, by a group of Twelve Authors,* declared categorically: "You can no more teach a person to speak a foreign language by means of class instruction given at stated intervals, than you can teach him to swim by giving courses of illustrated lectures in a 7 x 9 bathroom. The thing never has been done, never will be done, by the 'natural' method or by any other method; and anyone who professes to be able to do it may be safely set down as a quack."

In spite of Thomas, the *Report* was more moderate. It granted that the "natural" method stimulated much more pupil interest and even enthusiasm than the "grammar" method; that it is a good supplement for those who have had training in grammar and reading; and that it will have a "vivifying influence" upon the profession. Everyone agreed that "everything depends upon the teacher." Sauveur was beyond doubt a gifted teacher, a brilliant conversationalist, possessing skill, wit, and a great store of information.

Encouraged by the success of his school in Boston, and undeterred by being referred to as a quack, Sauveur initiated a campaign for the reform of language instruction. In order to demonstrate the principles of the "natural" method, he opened an École Normale des Langues, in which college professors and secondary school teachers were invited to enroll in a "training department," and watch his techniques, procedures and materials. The pupils were children, or high school and college students beginning the language, making up deficiencies, preparing for examinations; or professional and business men and women.

The first session of this Normal School was held in July and August, 1876, in the buildings of the New Hampshire State Normal School in Plymouth, a term of five weeks. In 1877, it was called the Summer School of Languages and occupied buildings at Amherst College. In Plymouth, Sauveur offered only French, but he added German at Amherst, and later, beginners' courses in Spanish, Italian, and Greek. His enrollment in 1878 reached 214. Spurred by his desire to reform college methods, he added demonstration instruction in Latin, Sanskrit and Hebrew. The object of the school was "to furnish the best instruction . . . to establish a sort of foreign society pervaded by such a linguistic atmosphere that everyone who enters it, even as a spectator, shall be inspired by new vigor and enthusiasm in language studies." We are glimpsing a prototype of the Middlebury spirit.

Sauveur expanded his missionary zeal in 1879, and opened branch schools on the campuses of Lafayette and Wooster. Difficulties developed, and in 1883, Sauveur left Amherst, as well as the other campuses, and moved his Normal School to Burlington, Vermont. Amherst College promptly organized in 1884 its own Summer School of Languages under the direction of Professor William L. Montague, with a heterogeneous curriculum which included chemistry, English, drawing, painting, and vocal music.

There were other summer schools of languages at that time organized on a similar pattern. French and German were offered at a school on Martha's Vineyard, at Cornell College, Iowa, at Iowa College, and in Rutland, Vermont. The Berlitz Schools were founded in Providence, R.I., by a Maximilian D. Berlitz, who early developed a form of the "natural" method. He began publishing his language books in the 1880's, and his schools have done a very profitable business in many cities. There are several other highly advertized commercial language schools.

Sauveur's founding of his École Normale des Langues in July, 1876 at Plymouth, N.H., and in 1877 at Amherst might appear to deny Middlebury's claim to be the "first." I have given this detailed account of his pioneering and reforming activities specifically in order to give him all due credit for his initiative, and as an important stage in our historical record. It is highly significant to note, however, that Sauveur enrolled beginners as regular students; that he did not require the exclusive use of the foreign language outside of the classroom. Extra-curricular life, in dormitory and dining hall, was not organized to promote the constant use of the language. There were no regular advanced courses in literature, civilization, composition, or phonetics in any of these schools. It is still clear that, significant as Sauveur's schools were, the Middlebury Language Schools were the first summer schools in any college in the country which gave only advanced courses concentrated upon a single language, and which required exclusive use of that language in the entire life of the school.

The third method discussed by the *Report* was a more systematic technique originated by François Gouin. It was variously known as the "Series" method or the "Psychological" method. Gouin, born in 1831 and educated in France, went to Germany to complete his studies in philosophy. He relates that he made a dismal failure of learning German by the usual classical method, but studying the way his three-year-old nephew had learned his mother tongue, he discovered the new system which he describes in *The Art of Teaching and Studying Languages*. He returned to Germany, lived for some years in Berlin, and was a professor of French to the Berlin Court in the 1860's. In 1883, he was appointed Professor of German at the École Supérieure Arago in Paris, and conducted experimental classes in German in Paris. Published originally in Paris in 1880, his book was translated into English by a pupil, Victor Bétis. In 1895-97, the method was used by Bétis himself in a school in Boston, Mass. Fräulein Stroebe was undoubtedly familiar with it.

This method endeavors to apply to the "natural" method the more sophisticated principles of association of ideas. Groups of closely related idiomatic phrases are worked out orally, by sequences of images, and memorized by repetition and reworking. Pantomime and imagination are highly important. English may be used when necessary; grammar is explained when useful. Objective images lead gradually to subjective series. Vocabulary is stressed, but always in context. Pronunciation is only imitative. Reading and literature are postponed until very late or neglected entirely.

A typical series for an early lesson is as follows: "I walk toward the door; I get to the door; I stop at the door; I stretch out my arm; I take hold of the handle; I turn the handle; I pull the door; I open the door." This technique can evidently hold the interest of the student; it is mature and systematic, and it develops a broad vocabulary. The limitations are obvious. The method was primarily significant in the first few months of language learning.

Correct pronunciation, which had been neglected in the methods so far discussed, is the basis of the "Phonetic" method, originated by Wilhelm Viëtor, with the publication in 1880 of a brochure: *Der Sprachunterricht muss umkehren* ("There must be a revolution in language instruction"). It also became known in Europe as the "Reform" method. Viëtor was its chief advocate, through the pages of the phonetics journal *Die Neueren Sprache*. The method was widely popular in Germany, and was also current in France, aided by the journal *Maître Phonétique*, which urged the use of its international phonetic alphabet.

The "Phonetic" method, like the "Natural" and the "Psychological" systems, is an oral method. Instruction begins with the scientific training of the ear and the vocal organs, rather than by imitation, as before. Charts and diagrams are used; sounds are studied and reproduced in isolation and in combination. When printed texts are introduced, they are exclusively in phonetic notation, gradually increasing in difficulty. Standard orthography is hidden for several months. The foreign language is used as exclusively as possible, but scientific explanations are given in English. Grammar is presented inductively, much later. There is very little reading of literature. The "Phonetic" method seeks to compensate for this lack by introducing large quantities of cultural objects, called "realia"—pictures, maps, objects from daily life. The discovery of the importance of "realia" was quickly utilized by most teachers, whatever the method used.

The "Phonetic" method was attempted in some schools in the United States and widely discussed between 1900 and 1915, but never widely adopted, chiefly for lack of trained phoneticians, or even of teachers with a knowledge of phonetics. The importance of good pronunciation, scientifically taught, was brought forcibly to public attention. It is noteworthy that the Middlebury Language Schools responded early with well-organized courses in phonetics for teachers, and even developed one of the earliest phonetics laboratories. The "Phonetic" method had the disadvantage of postponing the reading of literature until too late for the usual American secondary school language course of two years. Students also complained of the time lost in learning a whole new alphabet.

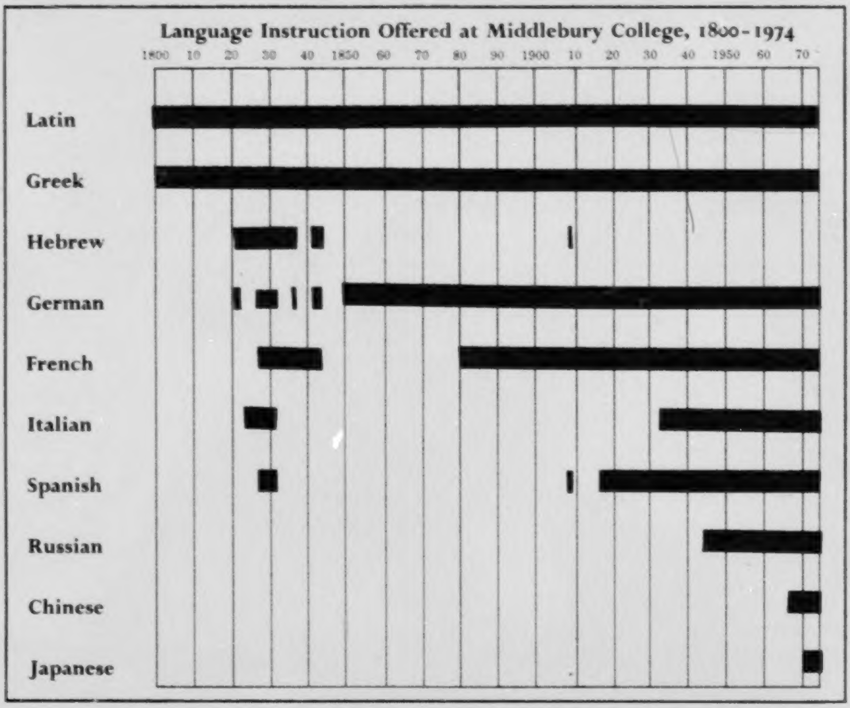
Finally, the "Reading" Method is a sort of second line of defense for the conservatives. Starting with a realistic appraisal of the situation in most high schools at that time, where a poorly prepared teacher with a large class had four hours a week for two years to achieve some end result, the *Report* decided that the chief objective must be the reading of good literature with some enjoyment. To arrive at this, the "Reading" method ignores pronunciation and oral work, reduces grammar to its bare essentials, and introduces the reading of selected texts at the very beginning. Abundant practice in translation at sight, it is hoped, will lead the pupil as rapidly as possible to direct reading without translating. The *Report* maintained that this method will develop the pupil's literary taste and increase his vocabulary, but it admitted that the method is monotonous, lacks stimulus and vivacity; it is also demoralizing for the teacher for it gives him no incentive to improve his mastery of the language. Since the Middlebury schools were founded primarily for the improvement of the language teacher, the Middlebury attitude toward the "Reading" method, even in 1915, is obvious.

Several other terms have been used to describe methods being discussed in 1915. In France, the term "Méthode Directe" came into large use. It was a version of the "Reform" method in Germany. The "pure" Méthode Directe starts with a clean break with the mother tongue, and attempts to build thought patterns in the foreign tongue. In American schools, English is completely taboo; the pupil is totally immersed in the foreign sounds, ideas, constructions, symbols, and culture. Pronunciation is crucial from the start; the psychological series are used; grammar is taught only by induction; composition is the writing of what the pupil can already say orally. Reading is introduced gradually but is not pushed, and becomes the basis for class conversation. Translation is a contradiction of the central thesis—thinking in the foreign language. Whatever feasibility this method might have for the high school student, its influence, and of the vehement discussion about it, on the Middlebury program for the training of teachers, is very evident.

It is doubtful that the "Direct" method was much used in its "pure" state in 1915. The younger generation of teachers in American secondary schools had repudiated the old "Grammar-Translation" method, and were quite dissatisfied with the dullness of the "Reading" method. At the same time, they did not feel that the pure "Direct" method was realistic for their own ability and for the circumstances. An "Eclectic" method became the compromise. It varied over a wide spectrum of considerations, and gave great liberty to the individual teacher, for good or ill. The chief tenets of the best "Eclectic" method were: pronunciation taught carefully from the start, but without great insistence upon phonetic characters; oral presentation of material, books closed, until proper oral habits were formed; maximum use of the foreign language by the pupils in active participation; grammar taught inductively but explained in English minimally when necessary; reading in prepared texts introduced quite early, with discussion on the text in the target language, but without translation; exercises in "free" composition based upon the reading and oral work, i.e. materials already familiar orally; abundant use of realia and material on the foreign culture.

The ideal "Eclectic" method makes heavy demands upon the teacher, requiring one who speaks the language fluently and correctly, who is trained in phonetics, has mastered the grammar, is at home in the foreign culture, literature and civilization, its ways of thinking and doing. The teacher must also know what his objectives are in each class, the best techniques for achieving them, and the materials necessary. He must know, finally, how the language class fits into the whole curriculum, and how it pertains to the ongoing studies and interests of his students. It was to prepare teachers of this quality that the Middlebury Summer Language Schools were founded, beginning in 1915.

Since the Middlebury schools were begun within the framework of a summer session already in operation, the history of that period is significant. Instruction in German had been begun again at Middlebury in 1848 by Prof. Rensselaer Robbins, and continued thereafter without interruption. French was not reintroduced until 1880. Edwin Higley was Professor of Greek and German,



This chart shows the years in which each of ten languages has been offered at Middlebury, in either the undergraduate or graduate school, or both. Precise dates for each language are these: Latin and Greek 1800-1975; Hebrew ?1821-37, '41-'43, 1909; German 1821, '27-'31, '37, '41-'43, 1848-1975; French 1827-43, 1880-1975; Italian 1824?-31, 1932-75; Spanish 1827-31, 1908-09, 1917-75; Russian 1943-75; Chinese 1966-75; Japanese 1970-75.

1872-82. Frank H. Foster taught philosophy and German, 1882-84. Henry E. Scott was Professor of Latin and Instructor in French, 1885-87. James Morton Paton taught Latin and French, 1891-94; then went to Bonn where he earned the Ph.D., and taught at Wellesley for many years. William Wells Eaton was Professor of Greek and German, 1884-1894, and continued as Professor of Greek until his death in 1905. He lived in the beautiful colonial house back of Starr Library. After his death, it became the home of the DKE Fraternity until it burned in 1969.

The next generation of Middlebury language teachers is well remembered by many of us still on campus. Arthur Lee Janes was Professor of Latin and French, 1891-94. He was subsequently Principal of the Boys' High School in Brooklyn, and later Principal of the Flushing, N.Y. High School. Middlebury College conferred the honorary degree of LL.D. upon him in 1923. After his retirement in 1937 he returned to Middlebury to live in the Emma Hart Willard House at 131 South Main Street. This house was built by Dr. Willard and passed through the Linsley family to Dr. Janes' wife, née Mary Linsley Tilden. After their death, the College acquired it and now uses it for the Admissions Office. Theodore Henckels, S.B., University of Ghent, was Professor of Modern Languages, 1894-1908, and later a translator in the Bureau of the Census.

"Middlebury College will open her doors for the first Summer Session on Tuesday, July 6th, 1909. The session will continue for six weeks, closing on August 13th." So reads the Middlebury College Bulletin, published in February, 1909. It continues: "The object of the instruction . . . is to meet the needs of the following classes: (1) Teachers in high and elementary schools . . . the opportunity of pursuing courses in their several departments, for more adequate preparation . . . methods of teaching . . . courses in the philosophy of education. (2) College students in Middlebury or elsewhere who may wish to make up . . . existing deficiencies either in entrance or college conditions, or may anticipate work and thereby shorten their course. (3) Preparatory students who wish to complete the entrance requirements or obtain additional credits at entrance. (4) Other persons who would appreciate the benefit of serious study . . . clergymen or others of mature age. . . ." Dr. Walter E. Howard, A.B., Middlebury 1871, LL.D. Ripon, Professor of History and Dean of the College, was appointed Director of the Summer Session.

Tuition was $10 for one or more courses. Starr Hall was reserved for women, "suitable provision will be made for the proper care of the building." Men roomed in Painter Hall. The room charge was $1 a week; table board was furnished at Hamlin Commons (located on a site now occupied by the Science Center) at $3.50 per week. There were three hotels in town: the Addison House, the Logan, and the Sargent, and several boarding houses for students and their families.

For such a wide range of clientele, the curriculum presented an equally wide range of course offerings, a real smörgasbord to choose from. Twenty-four faculty members offered a total of 46 courses, in Greek, Latin, English, German, French, Spanish, Psychology, Philosophy, Pedagogy, History of Education, History, Mathematics, Physics, Biology, Chemistry, Biblical Literature, Hebrew, Physical Culture, Domestic Science, Arts and Crafts, and Manual Training, including metal craft, pottery, woodcarving, and bent iron work. There was also a staff of twelve special lecturers. Who could fail to find something of interest in such an array?

There were two good reasons for this extraordinarily ambitious start for a summer session. One was evidently to utilize the staff and facilities of the college during the summer. The other reason becomes clear in the dealings of President Thomas with the Vermont State Board of Education and the Legislature. In October 1908, Pres. Thomas presented a petition to the Legislature for an annual grant of $6000 to create a Department of Pedagogy. He pointed out that there was at that time no institution in Vermont which provided special teacher training for students preparing to teach in Vermont high schools and academies. The existing normal schools trained teachers only for the primary and grammar grades. The University of Vermont was receiving large grants to support "instruction in the industrial arts", and Norwich University likewise to support instruction in engineering and military science. Middlebury College saw its special mission in the training of teachers in the liberal arts for the secondary schools.

The annual appropriation of $6000 was granted and a Department of Pedagogy established for the academic year, in October 1909. Dr. Edward D. Collins, Ph.D., Yale, Principal of the Vermont State Normal School, was appointed to head the new department; and Raymond McFarland, A.M., Yale, was brought from Ithaca High School, N.Y., as Assistant Professor of Secondary Education. President Thomas reported to the Legislature of 1910 that the new department "had so far exceeded expectations that in the last two years the College has experienced a veritable birth of new life. Students have increased from 203 to 275." But the money received from the state was by no means sufficient to provide for the increase, and he now petitioned for an additional annual appropriation of $7600 to bring the grant up to the total received by the University of Vermont. So great indeed was Dr. Thomas' and Dr. Collins' sense of mission in the training of teachers that in 1918 they had worked out a complete plan for transferring the Women's College—land, buildings and equipment—to the State of Vermont for a "Vermont Teachers' College," to be operated entirely independently of Middlebury College. The Middlebury Trustees put a decisive end to the plan.

All this activity explains much of the character of Middlebury's Summer Session, in its beginnings, and in its later orientation as well: the primary raison d'être of the Language Schools has been the training of teachers. In 1909, Dr. Thomas had seen in the new summer session a chance to prove to the Legislature that the secondary school teachers of the state urgently needed upgrading, and that Middlebury College could do the job effectively. He succeeded in persuading the State Department of Education to hold a State Summer School at Middlebury for ten days, offering instruction chiefly in Manual Training, Arts and Crafts, Domestic Science, and Pedagogy. We would now call it a "Workshop." Enrollment was separate from the College Session, but teachers attending the State Session could also enroll in the College Session. And here was the crowning stroke: *free* tuition was granted in the College Summer Session to all teachers employed full-time in Vermont schools, and also to all clergymen of the state.

Enrollment in the 1909 College Summer Session totalled 86, of whom 45 were teachers in Vermont. The modern languages were conspicuous in the curriculum: French, German, Spanish, Hebrew, as well as English. Edwin Higley came up from the Groton School to teach German grammar and prose. Martin Bähler, a teacher of French in the East Orange, N.J. High School, gave Intermediate French, and Methods of Teaching Preparatory French. Miss Maud Mary Tucker, Middlebury '04, and M.A. in Spanish '07, taught a course in Elementary Spanish. No elementary courses were offered in French or German. There is no hint of special attention to the oral use of the language.

The Second Summer Session, in 1910, was similar, with approximately the same courses, designed to attract everyone—teachers of all grades, high school students with admission deficiencies, college students making up work, clergymen and Bible School workers. The Director was now Dr. Edward D. Collins. The State Summer Session was again held in conjunction, for the first ten days. The Bulletin was more attractive, printed on coated paper with illustrations. As the teacher of German, Everett Skillings came from Bates, where he had just

EDWARD D. COLLINS
Professor of Pedagogy, 1909-1921; Director of the Summer Session, 1910-11, 1913-16, 1919-21; [illegible] 1921-25

REV. JOHN M. THOMAS
President of Middlebury College, 1908-1921

completed his M.A. He served the winter college with skill and great devotion from 1909 to 1943, when he became Emeritus. He gave courses in the Teaching of German, and in German Prose, in this session of 1910. Twenty-one years later, when the specialized German Summer School was reopened in Bristol, Everett Skillings was named the Dean.

The Third Summer Session, in 1911, followed the same pattern. Dr. Collins, Director, continued his chief appeal to teachers, although there is no mention of a State Summer Session. There were 47 courses offered, with more work in science and mathematics. The faculty numbered only 21. Spanish disappeared, but German and French were more popular, offering beginning courses, and had two teachers each, all different except Mr. Buhler in French. Enrollment rose to 111, 55 men and 56 women.

The most interesting new appointment was that of Duane Leroy Robinson, giving Beginning and Intermediate French, and a Seminar. He graduated from Middlebury with the A.B. in 1903, and the A.M. in 1908. After teaching mathematics for two years, he was named Assistant Professor of Modern Languages in 1908, and of French a year later. He held the title of Morton Professor of French until 1922. He then became Secretary of the Faculty, and later taught some Latin as well. The former assignment, a sort of "Faculty Whip", was a thankless task, since a college faculty is always the most undisciplined of bodies. "Robbie", as most of us knew him affectionately, had a marvellous sense of humor, and a great store of patience, but the frustrations at length wore him down. We regretted his departure when in 1928 he accepted an excellent appointment at the Taft School. Middlebury was his first love, however, and upon his retirement from the Taft School, he returned to Middlebury in 1946. His long connection with the college, and his phenomenal memory made him the obvious choice for Editor of the General Catalog of 1950, a monumental work. After that was done, he became the chief greeter of the Admissions Office, indefatigably conducting parties of applicants and parents on a tour of the campus, and regaling them with stories of the college past and present. He loved French, and one of his hobbies was the French-Canadian accent which he had observed in Addison County. He could sometimes be persuaded to recite French-Canadian dialect stories or poetry like the "Habitant" of Drummond, to the delight of his listeners. He remained a model of high-spirited activity until his death in 1965 at the age of 85.

In the Fourth Summer Session, 1912, enrollment dropped to 84, with a small proportion of Vermont teachers, and more Middlebury students. The decrease was chiefly due to the exclusion of high school students. Dr. Collins yielded the Directorship to Raymond McFarland, who held it for three sessions. Only 40 courses were given, with a trend toward the languages and the sciences. Two new teachers gave the German: Ray W. Pettengill, Ph.D., Harvard, and John H. Bachman, A.M., Brown. Gino Arturo Ratti, Middlebury '07, was a new face in the French Department.

The Bulletin had announced that H. Parker Williamson, Middlebury graduate of the Class of 1896, and "Ph.D., Dept. of Romance Languages and Literatures, University of Chicago," would join the faculty and give two courses, Advanced French and Problems in Teaching French. The Ph.D. ascribed to him was the error of the person who prepared the Bulletin, as it was corrected in later summers. He had in fact been invited, but on April 20 he wrote to President Thomas that he had been granted leave of absence from the University of Chicago in order to go to France to found a school for American students, and that he would have to go there in July. It was this project which became the Ecole du Château de Soisy. His place was taken by Archie S. Harriman, Principal of the Middlebury High School, already on the staff for Latin and mathematics.

The Summer Session of 1913, the Fifth, was more prosperous, with an enrollment of 120, 45 men and 75 women. Fifty percent were teachers or school officers; a majority of the rest were college students. The first ten days of the classes in Domestic Science, Nature Study, Arts and Crafts again constituted as in 1912 an approved State Summer School, especially designed for teachers of rural and graded schools. A total of 49 courses were offered. Professor Pettengill returned from Harvard to teach German. Professor Duane Robinson, returning after a year's interval, taught the French courses.

The strong physical expansion of the college had facilitated this increased enrollment. The completion of Pearsons Hall in the spring of 1911, and the addition of a large dining hall for 100 people at the rear of Battell Cottage next to it, had given ample flexibility. Women were housed in Pearsons Hall and Battell Cottage; men occupied Painter and Starr. Pearsons was the center of the social life; receptions, teas, and musicales were held there. The McCullough Gymnasium, completed in 1912, offered fine new equipment for indoor games. The Porter Athletic Field was opened in the spring of 1913 for outdoor sports.

Tennis courts had been completed near McCullough for men, and near Pearsons for women. Teachers were the favored group, as usual. Attention was called to the Pedagogical Library on the ground floor of Old Chapel, supplied with copies of current educational literature and files of periodicals. "The Office of the Director of the Summer School is in the pedagogical suite."

A new name in the faculty of 1913 should not pass unnoticed. Miss Minnie Hayden, a teacher of the Art of Singing at Steinert Hall, Boston, was invited to come and give a course in Vocal Music. The appointment was made late, and neither her name nor the course appears in the Bulletin. The record is set right in the College Catalog of December 1913. Miss Hayden returned in the summers of 1914 and 1915, giving two classes in voice training. In 1915, with an enrollment of eight students, she offered to give private lessons also, in voice building, diction, and coaching in Italian and German songs. Students were advised that her connection with the Summer Session made it possible for them to secure private coaching at very low cost.

The Middlebury College Bulletin of January 1929 contains a most informative article by Dr. Edward D. Collins entitled "How the English School Came to Bread Loaf." In it, he traces the transformation of the Summer Session, and the development of Middlebury's special schools. He writes (page 15): "To be minutely historical, the germ of the organization of these special schools was brought to Middlebury with the work in music established under the leadership of Miss Minnie Hayden in 1913, and conducted and developed by her through succeeding summers until 1926. The segregation of a group of students, the organization of their courses with a central aim under one person, and the progressive correlation of the courses within the department all seemed rather necessarily incidental to the study of music, and no special significance was ascribed to this as a type of organization until it began to permeate other branches of summer session instruction, expanding the departments into 'schools', and the personal heads into 'deans'. The first step in this direction was taken the year following the founding of Miss Hayden's music studio, when a brilliant teacher of French, the late Professor H. P. Williamson de Visme, himself an alumnus of the college, returned with a colleague from his own school in Soisy, France, as a visiting teacher to take charge of the courses in French in 1914." This same paragraph is quoted by Storrs Lee who speaks erroneously of a special "School" of Music in 1913.

It is perhaps presumptuous on my part to disagree with Dr. Collins as to the "germ" of the Middlebury Language Schools, but I am convinced that he ascribed too much significance to the single course in music given by Miss Hayden in 1913. She taught only one course, in Vocal Music, as a part of the general curriculum, open to all students at the session, on the same basis as the work in domestic science or drawing. Very few students enrolled. In 1913, there was no "School of Music" or music "studio", no segregation of students, no progressive correlation of courses within a department. It was not until 1916 that the work in music was presented as a specialized "School" in the Bulletin, and in an attractive little separate leaflet. We shall recount later this interesting development.

A similar caveat must be made in regard to the contribution of Williamson de Visme in 1914, as we shall see shortly. Since Professor Raymond McFarland was the Director of the Summer Session in 1912, 1913, and 1914, not Dr. Collins, it seems probable that Dr. Collins in 1929 was remembering his impressions of the situation in 1916, when the ferment of Lilian Stroebe's experiment of 1915 had begun to work.

The Summer Session of 1914, the Sixth, was like the preceding ones in many ways. Enrollment remained at 120; fifty courses were offered by a faculty of ten from the college plus fourteen from other institutions. Exactly half of the enrollees were teachers or school officers; six were clergymen.

But coming events were casting shadows before. In German, besides Dr. Pettengill, a brilliant young man from Middlebury joined the staff. Wilfred Edward Davison had graduated from the college in June of 1913 and was immediately appointed Instructor in German. He was familiar with the new methods of the German "Reform" and "Phonetic" movements. His Beginning German class was in contrast to Dr. Pettengill's grammatical approach: "Essentials of phonetics. Drill in pronunciation and in comprehending the spoken language. Elements of grammar. Dictation. Reading of simple prose." Significantly, he also offered a course in Practical Phonetics for Teachers; twelve lessons on teaching German pronunciation by the Phonetic method.

Wilfred Davison did not teach German again in the summer session, though he would have been a worthy aid to Fräulein Stroebe. He taught English literature here during the winter; and in 1920 when the Bread Loaf School of English was launched, he was named Assistant Dean. The following summer he became the Dean of Bread Loaf, and directed the School with genius and precision until his untimely death in 1929.

In French, the innovations were even more significant. Hiram Parker Williamson, B.S., Middlebury, 1896, and A.M. 1897, had been invited to teach in the Summer Session of 1912, but did not come, as we have seen. He now came, having added to his name his wife's family name of de Visme, and with the title of Founder and Director of the École du Château de Soisy, at Soisy-sous-Étiolles, in France. He brought with him the Co-Director of Soisy, Paul-Louis Jeanrenaud, fresh from his studies in Paris and at the Faculté de Théologie Protestante de Neuchâtel, with the newly acquired degree of Licencié en Théologie.

These two men gave a completely new orientation to the previous program of French studies at Middlebury. The Beginners' and even the Intermediate courses in French were dropped; the easiest course given was a reading course on Molière. M. Jeanrenaud handled the literature, offering courses on Le Romantisme, Le Mouvement poétique de 1880 jusqu'à nos jours, Molière, Rédactions (studies in style) et Conférences d'Élèves (oral presentations). His courses were described in French in the Bulletin, and presumably were taught in French. M. de Visme offered a Teachers' Course, described in English: "Presentation of grammar; how to learn verbs; vocabulary building; what to read and how to read; what constitutes a beginners' course. . . ." A second offering was the "Translation into French of Emerson's *Essay on Self-Reliance;* a study of translation; its place in language work; how to use the dictionary." The description of both courses being in English, they were probably taught partly, if not mostly, in English. Students were urged to take both courses together. A third offering by M. de Visme was a Cours de Conversation et de Lecture, described in French and presumably taught in French: "Cours pratique; application directe de la méthode exposée dans le cours de pédagogie." Two public lectures in French were also announced.

Chapter 2 will give a more complete account of who these two teachers were, their background, and what they did for Middlebury. In this Summer Session of 1914, M. de Visme's courses implied no clear conversion to the Direct Method, with which he was surely familiar. Unlike Mr. Davison, he appeared to give primacy to grammar and translation. Pronunciation was not stressed; there was no teaching of phonetics and no reference to its use by teachers. Yet the dropping of all elementary work, and the teaching of literature in French by M. Jeanrenaud give a strong hint of what was to come when they returned to Middlebury in 1916.

In any case, it is clear that this French section of the Summer Session of 1914 was not yet a "French School." There was no segregation of the students enrolled in French classes, no indication of any obligation to speak French outside of class, and no special arrangements for their separate living. The Battell Cottage dining room was shared with all the other summer students, and the French classes shared the use of the first floor of the newly completed Chemistry Building with the departments of English and mathematics.

Such is the background of that June day in 1915 when Fräulein Stroebe opened in Pearsons Hall the first advanced, specialized and isolated summer school of a modern language in the United States. Nothing is ever totally new. Middlebury College had shown a strong interest in modern languages since its early days. Its six previous summer sessions beginning in 1909 had given an important place to modern languages. Many theories of teaching method had been developed and hotly debated in this country and abroad. Many skillful teachers had organized schools and ingenious experiments for teaching some aspect of a foreign language and its culture. Public interest in modern languages had increased, and the objectives of modern language study had changed through the years. All this sets the stage and helps to explain the immediate impact of the "Middlebury idea", Fräulein Stroebe's inspiration. Her great achievement was to crystallize realistically into a single plan the many widely varied and scattered ideas, theories and experiments then current, and with real genius to organize them into a practical and successful school.

LILIAN L. STROEBE
Founder of the German Summer School, 1915, and its Director, 1915-1917; Professor of German at Vassar College, 1905-1943

Chapter 2

THE FOUNDERS

The German School

Miss Lilian L. Stroebe, 1915-1917

Fräulein Stroebe herself tells the story of the founding of the German Summer School in an article in the *Bulletin of Vassar College,* entitled "The Teaching of German at Vassar College, 1905-1943."

"The idea of the Summer School was born on a beautiful spring day in 1911 in an old apple orchard on a lonely, winding, little cross-country road between the Maple Circle and the Millbrook road. While resting from a bicycle ride, sitting under an apple tree in full bloom, Professor Whitney and I planned the new program in detail. In the following fall, we hired an automobile—quite an undertaking in those days—and together with Professor Edith Fahnestock of the Spanish Department took a day's ride through the Berkshires to look for a suitable place for this enterprise. No college at that time would have been willing to open its summer session to ideas that were absolutely new and had not proved their value, but we found an ideal place in the Berkshires and I rented it for the summer of 1912. It was the Taconic School, now the Wake Robin Inn, in Lakeville, Connecticut, in a wonderful location just above the lake. For two summers, first in Lakeville, then in Highland Hall, Hollidaysburg, Pennsylvania, the ideas were tried out and found workable and successful in every way.

"The next step was to find a college somewhere in the mountains, a college where it would be cool and attractive during the summer months, which would open its doors to such a foreign language school. The idea of taking the school to Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vermont, was born on a Rutland Railroad coach in 1914. Professor Whitney was on her way south from a Vermont Teachers' meeting. Looking from the window of the train, she noticed two new buildings on a Vermont hilltop, obviously part of a college; a fellow passenger across the aisle informed her that they were Mead Chapel and Hepburn Hall. 'There,' she exclaimed to herself, 'is the ideal site for Dr. Stroebe's summer school.' Shortly after her Vermont trip Professor Whitney wrote to President Thomas of Middlebury College suggesting that he provide Dr. Stroebe with quarters for her school and make it a part of Middlebury's summer program. He replied at once that he was much interested, an appointment was arranged in New York, and the next summer 1915 saw the first college foreign language school of its type opened at Middlebury. The college authorities were very open-minded and liberal and gave me an absolutely free hand as far as organization and management of the school were concerned."

In February, 1915, beside the usual bulletin on the Summer Session, a special bulletin was added, as a supplement, entitled "Prospectus of the Third Annual German Summer School, conducted by Professor Lilian L. Stroebe, Ph.D., Heidelburg, (Vassar College) in connection with the Seventh Summer Session of Middlebury College . . . June 29 to August 6, 1915." Fräulein Stroebe announced that she had arranged to continue her German Summer Courses at Middlebury College, and gave a description of the idyllic site of Middlebury and its natural advantages. She then stated many of the special characteristics upon which the success of the Middlebury Language Schools has been based since that time.

"Professor Stroebe will be assisted by a competent staff of native German teachers. The courses are intended for teachers of German and for other persons, either men or women, who wish to increase their practical knowledge of German for purposes of travel or study abroad. They are not intended for those possessing no knowledge of German.

"One of the chief objects of the courses is to enable the students to understand and speak German with ease. This can only be attained by constant practice; for this reason the school must demand a promise from its students to avoid the use of their own language, and to speak German only, outside as well as inside the house. As there will be constant help and supervision, and as all instruction will be given in German, they will have every opportunity for rapid improvement.

"While the morning will be taken up by the different courses, the afternoon will be devoted to private study and to out-door exercise. For conversational practice the teachers will accompany the students daily on their walks and excursions. In the evening, there will be social gatherings, illustrated lectures on German life and art, dramatics, readings of modern German poetry, music, etc.

"The house will be generously provided with German books, pictures, periodicals and newspapers, and everything possible will be done to create a German atmosphere. There will be one teacher for every six or seven students. The meals will be taken at small tables with a German teacher in charge of each. On Sundays there will be a German Church Service with the reading of a sermon and the singing of German hymns. Thus the students will have the opportunity of hearing and speaking German from eight in the morning till ten in the evening. . . .

"Though German courses are given in the summer sessions of almost all universities, this school offers opportunities not found elsewhere for constant practice in hearing, speaking, and reading German."

This statement of basic principles quoted by Dr. Stroebe in the Vassar *Bulletin* was taken from the 1916 Prospectus, not from the first announcement as she says, but there are few differences in the text. The very first version of 1915 is positive and definitive. An announcement in the Middlebury *Campus* of April 7, 1915 was similarly clear.

Fräulein Lilian Louise Stroebe was competent and prepared to undertake the task she set for herself. Born in Germany in 1875, she studied in German schools, then studied and taught in London until 1899. She became a student of philology at the University of Heidelberg, and later at the Universities of Berlin and Lausanne. She received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from Heidelberg in 1904. Coming to the United States, she was appointed to Vassar College in 1905. She was successively instructor, associate professor and professor; and after the retirement of Miss Marian P. Whitney in 1929, she became head of the Department of German. She retired from active teaching in 1943, after 38 years at Vassar College.

She was President and Director of the American Association of Teachers of German, and a leader in educational councils at Vassar and outside. She contributed scholarly articles to the journals on etymological, linguistic, and literary subjects; and collaborated in the authorship of textbooks for German classes: Whitney-Stroebe, *Advanced German Composition;* Stroebe-Whitney, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur,* and many others. She was an unusual example of strong interest in scholarly research combined with enthusiastic devotion to the preparation of teachers for the new objectives and methods of language study under hot discussion at the turn of the century. It is highly significant that her primary motive in founding the German School in 1915 was the training of teachers, as it has been for all the Middlebury Language Schools since that time.

The correspondence between President Thomas and Professors Marian Whitney and Lilian Stroebe in 1914-15 has not been found, nor any of the arrangements made with Dr. Edward Collins, the Director of the 1915 Summer Session. The February bulletins give no names of Fräulein Stroebe's staff. Only in the College Bulletin of December 1915 do we learn that her assistants were Betty Schragenheim, a graduate student at Teachers' College, Columbia; Meta Harms, a teacher at Packer Collegiate Institute, Brooklyn; Vera Schüller of the same school; August von Zabuesnic of the Pomfret School, Connecticut; and Emma Plambeck, a teacher in New York City. Miss Schüller and Mr. von Zabuesnic were also enrolled as students in the school. Thirty-nine other students were enrolled, five men and 34 women. One of the men was Wilfred E. Davison, who taught German, as noted above, in the summer of 1914 and during the college winter session. He would have been entirely competent to teach in the school, but Fräulein Stroebe preferred to have an all-native faculty. Davison was Assistant Director of the Summer Session in 1916, with Dr. Collins again Director.

The German School was located in Pearsons Hall, a large white marble structure of colonial design, standing on the ridge with a commanding view of both the Adirondacks and Green Mountains. It was built in 1911, aided by a generous gift of D. K. Pearsons. It became at once the social center of the Summer Session. Receptions, teas and musicales were held there. Special accommodations were now reserved for the German School, including a separate dining room and office; and that part was named the Deutsches Haus. The large social hall was reserved for its use on Monday, Wednesday and Friday evenings. The regular Summer Session Bulletin of 1915 stressed the fact that students in the Deutsches Haus "live and work in an atmosphere as distinctly German as if they were travelling or studying in Germany." Pointing out that travel in Germany was impossible, it continued: "Indeed, as much ability to think and speak German may be gained by six weeks thus spent in the intensive pursuit of

PEARSONS HALL

Built in 1911; location of the first German Summer School, 1915

the language, as by a whole summer of desultory study during foreign travel." In such total round-the-clock immersion in a German atmosphere lay the complete answer to the pungent declaration of Calvin Thomas that you cannot teach a person to speak a foreign language by classroom instruction.

All eight courses were conducted in German. No beginners' course was offered. There were two sections each of the Intermediate and Advanced Conversation courses, enrolling, according to Director Collins' personal copy of the bulletin, a total of 47 students. This evidently included some students who were not regularly enrolled in the German School. The special brochure had stated that students living in the German House would receive all the individual help they needed without extra charge; others might be admitted to single courses by special permission of the instructor. German "realien" history, and geography furnished vocabulary for conversational fluency and accuracy.

Four sections were needed for the course in Phonetics and the Teaching of German, with an enrollment of 38. It is significant to note the combination of phonetics with the course in methods for teachers. Here the influence of the German Phonetic or Reform Method on Dr. Stroebe is clear. Viëtor's *Die Aussprache des Schriftdeutschen* was used as a textbook. Max Walter, Director of the Musterschule in Frankfurt-am-Main, a school for teaching French and English, had visited Vassar. He was a pioneer of the Direct Method in Germany, and had considerable influence on Miss Stroebe. The theory and practice of Teaching German in secondary schools, textbooks, and methods were discussed. Practice lessons were given by each student. The students also met three times a week in small groups for practice in reading aloud. There were two sections each of the Intermediate and Advanced Prose Composition courses, with a total enrollment of 33. Evidently nearly all of the students took all three language courses.

Three literature courses were announced. Masterpieces of German Literature, meeting three days a week for one credit, had an enrollment of 21. Contemporary German Drama, meeting two days a week for one credit, enrolled 18. For Modern German Short Story, meeting daily for two credits, Dr. Collins' notation shows no enrollment. It is evident that primary attention and interest centered on the preparation of teachers in the German language, not on the literature.

Tuition in the German School was $30, compared with $15 plus a $5 registration fee for students in the general Summer Session. Vermont teachers and clergymen still enrolled free of charge. Board and room at the college was $8 a week. The total enrollment of the Summer Session in 1915 was 149. Courses were given in Psychology and Education, English, Dramatic Interpretation, French, Latin, History, Religion, Mathematics, Chemistry, Biology and Geology, Physics and Mechanical Drawing, Home Economics, and Vocal Music. In French, the only instructor was a Mlle F. Th. Meylan, Head of the French Department at St. Agatha, New York. She gave a Teachers' Course, which included a discussion of the Direct Method; a reading course in French Literature "for students who have a good knowledge of elementary French", beginning with three lectures on phonetics; and a seminar on Seventeenth Century Drama. The enrollment was five in the first two courses and three in the seminar. There was no attempt to separate the students in French courses from the general session or to add any intensive character to their program.

The new, specialized German Summer School was continued again in the Middlebury Summer Session of 1916. The organization of the School and its relation to the general session was the same as in 1915. The bulletins announced that Professor L. L. Stroebe would be assisted by Fräulein Meta Harms, Director of German at Packer Collegiate Institute, and by Fräulein C. Sarauw, Ph.D., Jena, formerly of Vassar, and a staff of native assistants. Dr. Sarauw did not come, however. The other assistants who actually taught classes, as reported in the College Bulletin of December, 1916, were a Maximilian J. Rudwin, Ph.D., from Purdue University, who evidently replaced Dr. Sarauw; the Misses Harms, Schüller, Schragenheim, and Plambeck of 1915; and four newcomers, Misses Engell, Richrath, Weiss, and Liedtke, altogether a faculty of ten. Miss Emma Plambeck, who was also a teacher of art, offered private lessons in sketching and painting.

The total enrollment was 64, a 56% increase. Only five of the students were men. The session opened much later, on July 8, and closed on August 18. The language courses were again Conversation, Phonetics and the Teaching of German, and Prose Composition. They received the bulk of the elections: 61, 50, and 18 respectively. The literature courses were The Short Story, Goethe's Dramas, and Hauptmann's Dramas: 19, 10, and 15 respectively. Each literature course gave only one credit.

An important change was the location of the German School in Hepburn Hall instead of Pearsons. The gift of Trustee A. Barton Hepburn, it is the edifice on the ridge which Professor Whitney had reportedly spied from the railroad train. It had just been completed in July, however; and like Mead Memorial Chapel was still under construction in February 1916 when the bulletins were published. In the fall of 1914, Dr. Whitney could not have seen much more than the early skeleton of walls. Hepburn Hall has a magnificent view in all directions equal to that from Pearsons. It accommodates a hundred students, and was assigned exclusively as the Deutsches Haus for 1916, with its dining hall, large social hall, and rooms en suite. The special German Prospectus for 1916 had an architect's drawing of the building and a floor plan. Pearsons Hall was assigned to the new French School and the new School of Music. Tuition was still $30 for the German School, compared to $25 for the French School and $20 for other summer students. Board and room varied from $6 to $10 a week.

This may be an appropriate point to speak of the new Summer School of Music. Alongside of the courses in pedagogy, English, science, history and religion, offered as usual but less numerous, Miss Minnie Hayden created a new unit, inspired to some extent by the unified concept of the German School. An attractive special circular was printed in the spring of 1916, announcing a "School of Vocal Music, personally conducted by Miss Minnie Hayden of Steinert Hall, Boston, for teachers of public school music and students of voice." Miss Hayden had taught vocal music at Middlebury since the summer of 1913, and she had offered private lessons to students who wished them. She now combined regular courses in Public School Music (two hours daily) and a Reading Class (tuition the usual $15) with an organized program of private lessons in Voice Building, Song Interpretation, Oratorio and Arias, by special arrangement (tuition $30 or depending on the hours arranged).

The basic idea was that intensive practice, daily drill under close supervision, would accomplish greater results than the usual weekly lessons. There was no segregation from other students, but special chorus work, recitals and other social events were planned to create a cohesive interest. Students who registered in the Music School received auditors' tickets to attend other lectures in the session. Eight students were enrolled in the school in 1916. Miss Hayden was a most skillful teacher, a charming and vigorous personality; and it is not surprising that she gathered about herself a loyal group of pupils as a more or less unified school. The Music School continued through the summer of 1925.

The Middlebury *Campus* of January 12, 1916 had a long announcement of the plans for the 1916 Session, including the return of the German School under Dr. Stroebe, and the founding of the French School by Williamson de Visme. It also spoke of the "English School", which at that time meant simply the ensemble of courses in other subjects taught in English. The Music School was not mentioned. Then on June 21, there was a box advertisement for the Summer Session, with mention of the German, French, English and Music Schools.

Before the Summer Session of 1917 opened, the national situation had changed drastically. Diplomatic relations with Germany had been broken in February, and the United States declared war on Germany on April 6. Popular resentment ran high against Germany's unrestricted submarine warfare. Everything German was anathema. Enrollments in German classes dropped markedly, and teachers of German began retooling to teach Spanish in the public schools. Some states in the mid-West even forbade by legislative action the teaching of German in the public schools. This was manifestly stupid, ignoring the fact that American troops going to Germany could profit from a speaking knowledge of German. It is also true that much of German literature is distinctly individualistic, a call for freedom against autocratic governments. But the wave of anti-German feeling swept the country in 1917, and the Middlebury German School could not escape it.

On the Middlebury campus, many changes occurred. President Thomas prepared to go into the Chaplaincy of the army; Dr. Edward Collins became Acting President; Professor Raymond McFarland replaced him as Director of the Summer Session. Many of the old general subjects offered in previous sessions were dropped. The total enrollment increased, however, from 183 to 206, because of the increased interest in French, Spanish, and Music.

The German School curriculum was little changed. There were two levels of German Conversation on "realien" and cultural subjects; three levels of Phonetics and the Teaching of German: for experienced teachers, for young teachers, and for prospective teachers; and two levels of Prose Composition. The bulletin explained the courses in detail. For literature courses, there were only two: Schiller's and Grillparzer's Dramas. An ambitious advanced student could take the entire program and earn seven credits.

Enrollment dropped to 38, including only one man. The school was again directed by Dr. Stroebe, with the assistance of the Misses Harms, Engell, Schragenheim, Plambeck, Richrath, and a new Miss Krauter. The school was again housed in Hepburn Hall, with much empty space.

The German School of 1917 was academically successful, and incurred only a small deficit in spite of the sharp drop in enrollment. Fräulein Stroebe, although a staunch defender of the value of the study of the German language and culture, was a model of tact and good judgment in a delicate situation. Grumblings and mutterings were heard against the school even in Middlebury from individuals whose fancied "loyal Americanism" was greater than their intelligence or even their common sense.

The hard decision for 1918 had to be made. On December 13, 1917, Professor McFarland wrote to Dr. Stroebe to inform her that the matter had been considered very carefully by the trustees, with respect to facilities and costs. He continued . . . "the decision has been reached that as an economic proposition we should not attempt to have a German School in 1918. You may remember that the school was not a paying proposition this year, and I cannot see how it would be a financial success in 1918, further, there does not appear to be a demand for instruction in German that would sanction its continuance." He concluded with the assurance "of my appreciation of the very excellent work which you have done at Middlebury in the past years."

President Thomas also wrote to Dr. Stroebe on December 18, 1917: "I wish you to know that it was with deep regret that I told the director of the summer session that we must discontinue the German School next summer at least. . . . I can assure you that this decision implies no criticism of your own conduct of the work here or that of your associates or pupils. On the contrary, we appreciate highly the academic excellence of the work you have done here, and we feel that last summer you met a difficult situation with entire good judgment. We have learned much from you, and are grateful for all you have done for us."

Dr. Stroebe replied on December 20: "It was a great pleasure and satisfaction for me to hear that Middlebury College appreciated my efforts for the German School. I am certainly most grateful to you for all you have done for me; the German School could never have made a success without the understanding and excellent cooperation of the College administration.—Under the present circumstances I feel very doubtful in my own mind as to the wisdom of having a German School next summer, but I hope sincerely that later on, when political conditions are more favorable, you will want me to continue the work of the German School, as I am convinced that Middlebury is a place especially adapted for modern language work, and I should be sorry not to look forward to working again under your auspices."

The discontinuance of the German School took place therefore in an atmosphere of cordiality on both sides. In his Director's Report for 1917 to President Thomas, however, Professor McFarland after praising its academic quality pointed out a flaw in the administrative set-up, which, he wisely warned, should not be repeated in the other schools. Dr. Stroebe made no final report to him as the other directors did. "Under the present direction, there is no feeling of responsibility either toward the Director of the Summer Session or the College; if so, it is not in evidence. . . . When the German School is reopened . . . great care should be exercised to see that it is a German School of Middlebury College and not of a private individual." Elsewhere it was pointed out that the illustrative material or "realien" of the German School was not the property of the college, but of the instructors in charge. To a considerable degree, the German School was the Lilian L. Stroebe School, held "in connection with" the Summer Session of Middlebury College.

As an example of the tension and anti-German sentiment which swept the country in 1917-18, there is an exchange of correspondence between President Thomas and Professor Robert Herndon Fife, then Professor of German at Wesleyan, to whom Middlebury gave the honorary degree of Litt.D. in 1955. Dr. Fife had invited Dr. Stroebe to speak to the annual meeting of the New England Modern Language Association on May 11, 1918. He had received a letter on May 1 from a summer resident of Middlebury, demanding in strong terms that the engagement be cancelled, and saying that "many of the natives expected her internment and that of many others of her school." The attack was given more credence by the fact that Fräulein Agathe Richrath of Vassar, an assistant of Dr. Stroebe in Middlebury in 1916 and 1917, had just been placed under arrest. President Thomas replied immediately to Dr. Fife's inquiry that Dr. Stroebe had conducted herself here "with good judgment and tact, and made her school and its methods as little objectionable as possible under the circumstances." He admitted however that popular criticism could not be avoided.

Dr. Stroebe did speak to the May 11 meeting, on the subject: "Summer Schools as a War-Time Substitute for Study Abroad." Her address contained a detailed description of her ideal of a summer language school as she had created it at Middlebury. She spoke of the essential characteristics of isolation, concentration, coordination, and supervision; the necessary courses in phonetics, literature, and methods of teaching; and the importance of the social life and activities. She commented that "in my German School affiliated with Middlebury College" she was given a completely free hand in the organization and management.

By 1928, the war hysteria had abated. Professor Alice P. Stevens of the German Department of Mt. Holyoke College had attended the Middlebury German School in 1915, and was convinced of its value. She persuaded the authorities at Mt. Holyoke to invite Dr. Stroebe "to bring the German Summer School there." This was done in 1928, and Dr. Stroebe "conducted the school there on the same lines as formerly in Middlebury" for the three summers of 1928, 1929 and 1930. Meanwhile, Middlebury College had been studying the situation, and in 1931 reopened its German School in Bristol, under the direction of Dr. Ernst Feise of Johns Hopkins. Instead of rivalry, there was cordial cooperation between the two schools, and the school at Mt. Holyoke was discontinued in 1931 to give Middlebury complete freedom for development.

The sequel was written in 1944, during World War II. On the evening of July 27, Middlebury College conferred upon Fräulein Stroebe the honorary degree of Doctor of Pedagogy. Werner Neuse, then Dean of the German School, described the scene in *Monatshefte* of October 1944, in the "Notes and News." In the Gartensaal of the Bristol Inn, decorated with fir boughs and wild flowers, the honored guests from Vassar College, Marian Whitney, Lilian L. Stroebe, and Ruth Hofrichter, retired and current heads of the German Department there, were led in academic procession by President Samuel S. Stratton, Dr. Feise, Dr. Neuse and myself, followed by the directors of the other Language Schools. Professor Stechow directed a Mozart sonata and the choral singing of the Bundeslied. I related the history of the founding of the German School, and presented Fräulein Stroebe for the degree: "Leader in educational councils, wise and tireless in bearing her share of administrative duties, active in research and scholarly publication, ably defending and illuminating all that is best and most durable in the literature and culture of the true Germany."

President Stratton then conferred the degree with the following citation: "Lilian L. Stroebe, . . . it is particularly appropriate that Middlebury College should invite you to join its distinguished fellowship of honorary alumni and alumnae. Thirty years ago this summer, plans for founding the German School at Middlebury were initiated. Today we are proud to honor you as the founder of our German School, and therefore to a large degree responsible for the subsequent development of all of the Middlebury Language Schools. Your contribution to the study and to the teaching of German at Middlebury alone merits the highest honor we can confer upon you; but we also thus give recognition to your productive career as sound scholar, beloved teacher, and able administrator. . . ."

The evening closed with the student chorus singing "Gaudeamus Igitur", folk-dancing on the lawn, and a performance of the play *Emil und die Detektive,* from the Stroebe-Hofrichter edition.

THE FOUNDERS

The French School

H. P. Williamson de Visme, 1916-1925

The idea had life. President Thomas and Dr. Edward D. Collins, Director of the Summer Session, recognized immediately the distinctive originality of Fräulein Stroebe's school. More important still, they saw that it could be easily and effectively adapted to the preparation of teachers of other foreign languages. They invited H. P. Williamson de Visme to return to Middlebury from France, with his associate Paul-Louis Jeanrenaud, to take charge of a new French Summer School patterned on the German School of the summer before. These men had both taught in the Summer Session of 1914, as we have seen, and had made significant changes in the French offerings. A special bulletin was published in February 1916, along with the regular summer bulletin, announcing a "French Summer School, conducted by H. P. Williamson de Visme, B.S., A.M., Director of the École du Château de Soisy, Soisy-sous-Étiolles, France; and Paul-Louis Jeanrenaud, Co-Director of the École du Château de Soisy, July 8 to August 18."

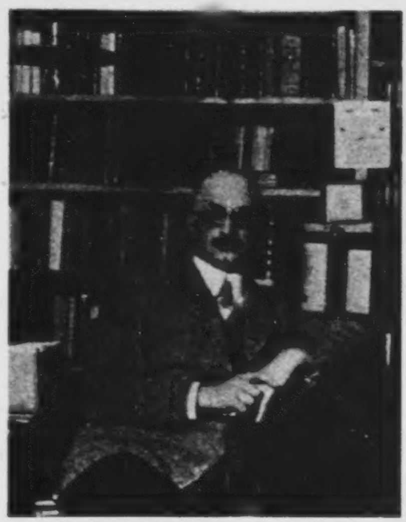
The choice of M. de Visme to create the new school was an obvious and a fortunate one. He was an ardent alumnus of Middlebury College, and an equally ardent francophile. He had taught here one summer with success. He was a dynamic, enthusiastic and ambitious man of 42 years, with a great deal of personal charm and magnetism. During his years in Chicago and in France he had developed a sense of mission, and a real zeal for teaching the French language and culture, and for the preparation of teachers.

He was born Hiram Parker Williamson, in Middlebury in a house near the railroad station, on August 20, 1874. He graduated from Middlebury College with the B.S. degree, Phi Beta Kappa, in 1896. He was to have participated in the Commencement exercises with an oration, "The New and the Old", but for some reason was excused from speaking. He continued for a year as a graduate student in history and literature, and received the A.M. degree in 1897. After two years of teaching French and German at the Rugby School in Kenilworth, Illinois, and the summer of 1899 studying at the Alliance Française in Paris, he spent a year as graduate student and instructor in French at Princeton University. He was then appointed Assistant in French at the University of Chicago, and was successively advanced to Associate, Instructor, and Assistant Professor of French. He made several trips to France during this time, and on one of them met Mlle Alice de Visme, a charming young woman of the lesser aristocracy and related to the heads of the French Line of steamships. They were married in Paris in 1906, and had two sons, René and Eric.

Williamson corresponded frequently with President Thomas, arranged Middlebury Alumni meetings in the Chicago area, contributed to Middlebury fund drives, and inquired about job openings here and elsewhere. He was invited, and had accepted, to teach in the Middlebury Summer Session of 1912. But, feeling frustrated at Chicago by the grammar-translation method in force there, and the lack of cultural material in the class program, he decided in April 1912 to embark upon a great venture. Securing a leave of absence from the University of Chicago, he went to France "to found a school for Americans where they can *learn* French." With no financial backing, but later in partnership with Paul-Louis Jeanrenaud, a Swiss, he rented the Château de Soisy, not far from Paris, and started a school there. He wrote to Dr. Thomas in July 1913 that the school had had 26 students in the previous year. The Château, built in 1650, was spacious and commodious, with a park of 12 acres enclosed by high walls.

The school was at first intended for American children, but there were very few of them after the outbreak of the war in 1914. With the help of his wife's family, it became a French institution and prepared French children for the baccalauréat examination. Legal and financial difficulties arising from an American's owning a school in France during the war, as well as his missionary fervor for French culture, both led him to change his name gradually in 1914 to Henri Pierre Williamson de Visme. He and Jeanrenaud had taught the French courses in the Middlebury Summer Session of 1914, but as yet without the concept or the name of a "French School." They were invited to return in 1915, but wrote in February that they were needed at Soisy, proposing instead an affiliation between Middlebury and Soisy. In November 1915, President Thomas invited them for the session of 1916 and they accepted. Various formal documents were needed to secure their release from France.

Paul-Louis Jeanrenaud belonged to a Swiss family of three brothers and



H. P. WILLIAMSON DE VISME
Founder of the French Summer School, 1916, and its Director, 1916, 1918-1924; Professor of French and Dean of the French School, 1919-1924

a sister that had settled in France. He completed his Maturität and Baccalauréat at the University of Neuchâtel, and studied both letters and science. He was enrolled in the Faculté de Théologie Protestante in Neuchâtel and in Paris, and later in the École Pratique des Hautes Études in Paris. He earned the degree of Licencié en Théologie in 1914. All the Jeanrenaud family eventually became associated with the École du Château de Soisy.

The new "French Summer School" at Middlebury in 1916 was clearly a separate entity "in connection with the Eighth Summer Session." The program was advanced, intensive and specialized. No beginners' courses were offered. All courses were described in the bulletin in French, and were taught in French. They were especially addressed to the needs of teachers of French. M. de Visme gave a Cours de Pédagogie Expérimentale, which was a demonstration class of the Direct Method for teaching a beginning class of children. The teachers were expected to observe; and the demonstration class was followed by explanations and discussion of the method. This course was combined with a Cours de Pédagogie Théorique which discussed in French the principles and psychology of language teaching. He also gave a Cours de Prononciation for teachers, "with special attention to proper nouns." No mention is made of phonetics in the course description. M. Jeanrenaud taught the literature courses: Taine for advanced students; LaFontaine on two levels; and a course of literary analyses, oral exercises and reports by students for class discussion and criticism.

Twenty students were enrolled in the French School. Practically all of them attended all the courses given, a very intensive load of 21 hours a week. There were also a few students from the general session in M. de Visme's classes, making an enrollment of 25 in the pronunciation class. Since the German School had been moved to the newly completed Hepburn Hall, Pearsons Hall became the headquarters of the French School, which shared it with the new Music School. The social hall in Pearsons was "reserved for the exclusive use of the French School three evenings each week." Separate tables in the dining hall of Battell Cottage nearby were provided. Tuition was $25; board and room cost from $6 to $10 a week. Vermont teachers still received free tuition.

In a sort of report written by de Visme to President Thomas on Sept. 12, 1916 after his return to France, he says . . . "In talks I had this summer with school superintendents and principals and with teachers too, I saw more clearly than ever the need of just such a school, but expanded . . . so that it may answer the requirements of teachers who cannot find outside of France what is necessary for their further development. . . . I assure you that the French School, upheld and nurtured, will become for Middlebury a source of power and pride." The letter goes on to insist that American schools and colleges do not aim to train teachers, that the courses offered in literature and philology do not help them solve their classroom problems. Two of his students had contracted to teach primary children by the Direct Method the following year, and had never seen it used before they saw him demonstrate it in class. He concludes that it was a magnificent summer, and that he considers the school "a mission."

Although the French School as a separate and intensive unit clearly began in 1916, the picture of it in the literature of that summer is disappointing compared to that of the German School. Neither the general nor the special French

Bulletin of the Eighth Session insist upon the segregation of the school from other students. No mention is made, as in the German Bulletin, of the required promise to use only the foreign language. At most, the bulletin refers to "an intensive training in speaking, reading, hearing and studying French", as compared to foreign travel. The reason is that the bulletins were made up in February without close consultation with de Visme, and Dr. Collins was not quite sure what would happen.

The omission was completely remedied in the 1917 "Prospectus of the Romance Language Schools, French and Spanish, in connection with the Ninth Summer Session, June 30 to August 10." Under the new heading of "The Middlebury Method", this bulletin published in February adopts a positive tone: "In the last few years, the Modern Language Department of the Summer Session of Middlebury College has attracted wide attention among teachers of French and German throughout the country. The Middlebury method . . . is *direct, intensive* and *continuous*. Students of these languages receive instruction in small groups from native teachers; they are constantly in an atmosphere of French or German conversation, lecture, recitations, and other social and intellectual activities. The native language is the language of the respective schools."

The French section of this Prospectus is even more specific. "Special emphasis will be paid to the acquiring of fluency and ease in French conversation. Every effort will be made to have the students . . . in constant touch with the instructors from France at all times during the day. French will be the language of the school on all occasions, in the students' outside activities fully as much as in the classroom." After describing the class program and the evening social gatherings, dramatics and musicales, and the provision of French books, periodicals and newspapers, it continues: "Everything possible will be done to create a French atmosphere. . . . There will be a French teacher in charge of each of the tables in the dining hall. Thus, students will have the opportunity to hear and speak and think French continuously throughout the Summer Session."

The February 1917 Bulletin announced the return of de Visme and Jeanrenaud. But the United States entered the war in April 1917 and the situation changed radically. The school at Soisy experienced great hardship. M. de Visme tried to enlist as an interpreter, but he was not well. All passages from France except for military purposes were cancelled. On May 9, de Visme wrote President Thomas that he and Jeanrenaud could not come for the summer.

By unexpected good fortune at this late date, Professor Raymond McFarland, now Director of the Summer Session, was able to secure as Director of the French School, Doctor Georges Duranceau de la Jarrie. He was a Doctor of Medicine from the University of Paris; Officier d'Académie; Officier d'Instruction Publique, and a member of learned societies. He had travelled widely, and written much on archeological researches in France. He was a skilled philologist, and brought to the school much illustrative material, phonetic and other language charts. He taught three courses: literature, history, philology, all in French; and directed the students' oral reports and literary analyses. Mlle Thérèse Saunier, of the Lincoln School in Providence, taught a course in phonetics, now offered for the first time, and the pedagogy course. A Mlle Marie Le Lavandier, replacing the announced Mlle de Saussure, was in charge of the course in conversation.

The enrollment in the French School jumped from 20 to 37, in spite of the war, the popular swing to Spanish, and the competition of the new Middlebury Spanish School. The school was located in Pearsons Hall as before. Professor McFarland reported that it was very successful, the quality of the student body excellent, the courses of study met their approval, and the social and other activities were of high order.

Negotiations began early for the return of Williamson de Visme as Director for the summer of 1918. There were difficulties about passports and other documents required in wartime. Jeanrenaud stayed with the school in Soisy. With M. de Visme, Dr. de la Jarrie returned, and two new women teachers were added: Mlle Léa Surleau of the Emma Willard School in Troy, and Mlle Marguerite Billard of Smith College. M. de Visme taught pedagogy, vocabulary, and Flaubert. Dr. de la Jarrie gave the important course on Phonetics and Philology, and a new one on Victor Hugo. The demonstration class on the "direct and natural methods" was given by Mlle Surleau, along with a half-course on Famous French Literary Women. Mlle Billard taught Romanticism, and Advanced Reading and Composition.

It is a surprise to find the courses described in English in the general Bulletin, but the statement of the "Middlebury Method" and the use of the foreign language is similar to that in the preceding year. There was no special bulletin of the Romance Language Schools for 1918. The only special bulletin was one for the "Department of Music." It is curious also to note that the term "School" which had been commonly used heretofore was avoided in the general 1918 Bulletin; instead, the term "Department" was consistently used for all the schools. The enrollment in French increased to 52; in Music, it increased to 16. In all the heterogeneous courses in Chemistry, Education, English, Physical Education and the social sciences, grouped as the English Department, the enrollment was down to 38, from 108 of three years before. The new Spanish "Department" was still the great success, up from 63 to 114.

A Department of Italian was added in the summer of 1918, with Miss Amy A. Bernardy in charge. She held the Ph.D. from the University of Florence; had been Head of the Italian Department at Smith College; and was in 1918 Educational Representative of the Italian Government in America. She offered courses in Italian language, history, and art. Hillside Cottage was reserved for this new unit, and it was announced that the methods would be similar to the other language departments, with Italian the language of students at all times. It was an interesting and constructive experiment, but premature. Only two students enrolled, and the effort was discontinued until 1932.

M. de Visme had hardly returned to Soisy in September 1918 when he received an urgent letter followed by a cable from President Thomas, offering him a full professorship at Middlebury College if he could come immediately. The college had contracted to receive a Student Army Training Corps unit of 300 men, and Dr. Thomas was desperately seeking more faculty members. De Visme had made no secret of his eagerness for an appointment on the regular Middlebury faculty, and was sorely tempted to accept. He replied however that his current commitments to the École du Château de Soisy would not permit him to come before June of 1919. Correspondence continued during the winter with Dr. Edward Collins, Acting President while Dr. Thomas was on leave as chaplain in the U.S. Army, and also again Director of the Summer Session replacing Professor McFarland. De Visme accepted the invitation to return in charge of the French Summer School of 1919.

Then on April 21, 1919, President Thomas, back in Middlebury, wrote de Visme to offer him an appointment as Professor of French and Head of the Department of Romance Languages, effective July 1. After discussing a request for two additional perquisites which Dr. Thomas found it inadvisable to grant, de Visme accepted the appointment. So, when the French Summer School of 1919 opened, Henri Pierre Williamson de Visme had achieved the lifelong ambition of a permanent appointment in his alma mater and in his native village. He left the École du Château de Soisy in the hands of the Jeanrenaud family, without any financial settlement. After a few years of operation, they moved the school to another place, also near Paris, and named it the École du Montcel, which is still operating. He also left his wife and two sons with her family in France for the first year; they came to join him in 1920.

The French Summer School of 1919 was similar to 1918, but with a doubled enrollment, from 52 up to 102. M. de Visme taught political history and Balzac; Dr. de la Jarrie gave philology, cultural history, and the commerce of France and its colonies. Two new young women took care of grammar, composition and conversation. There were two innovations: a Mlle Rafinesque from Oberlin taught a new course entirely devoted to phonetics. Assistant Professor Edwin Baker from Oberlin offered courses in French public speaking, and XIXth century poetry. We are surprised, knowing de Visme's insistence upon the training of teachers, that no work was offered in pedagogy or methods, nor even a demonstration class in the Direct Method. Increased importance was given to the extracurricular life of the school. Professor Baker took charge of the dramatics evenings and the regular folk singing. There were several illustrated lectures on France and the colonies by Baker and de la Jarrie.

The year 1920-21 was a milestone, marking nothing less than the complete reorganization of the Middlebury Summer Session. It turned away from the pattern it had followed since 1909, and looked constructively forward. The war was over and the readjustment to peace-time education was taking place. The dislocations caused on the Middlebury campus by the Student Army Training Corps had increased the dissatisfaction felt by Dr. Thomas and the directors of the Summer Session with the smörgasbord offerings of courses characterizing the old pattern. These courses had been grouped as the "English School" for no better reason than that they were taught in English rather than French or Spanish. It was not a "School" in the same sense that the French and Spanish were.

As early as 1917, in his Director's report to President Thomas, Professor McFarland had expressed his feeling forcibly: "The time has come . . . when a thorough reorganization of the English School seems necessary. . . . For some time past, it has been evident that the English School is the least satisfactory of any of the departments of the Summer Session. This condition has been the result of the class of students enrolled in the English School, the inability to secure continuous cooperation of department heads in the college, and the lack of courses and materials to attract a more desirable patronage." He went on to say that members of the faculty felt that the session offered an easy means for incompetent students to make up work, and that the grading scale was inconsistent. Besides, the "English School" courses were losing money, an unacceptably large deficit, whereas the French and Spanish Schools were making a good profit.

Professor McFarland's final paragraph, entitled "The Outlook", was prophetic. "The ideal toward which the Summer Session should strive is in the field of modern language instruction. Middlebury College cannot compete with the summer schools of other eastern institutions in maintaining courses in mathematics, the sciences, and history, possibly not in education and English. . . . The experiences of past sessions have demonstrated this. Just as clearly it has been shown that Middlebury may become a Mecca for the modern language teachers of the country. Already our language courses in summer are widely and favorably known among educators. There should be a gradual improvement in the teaching staff, the courses of study, and the collection of illustrative materials that will attract a better and better class of students. In time, we can afford to become a graduate school in the modern languages. . . . We believe that the Middlebury College Summer Session, through its Modern Language Schools, may become the most efficient of its kind in America."

President Thomas and Dr. Collins waited two years before putting this prophetic advice into action, but the decision was made before the general College Bulletin was published in December 1919. The courses in pedagogy, psychology, history, political science, Latin and mathematics were dropped permanently. Home economics, arts and crafts, clay modeling, etc. had already disappeared. President Thomas had evidently decided that his commitment to the Vermont Legislature for the training of Vermont teachers had been satisfied. Dr. Collins in the 1929 Bulletin on Bread Loaf concurs with Professor McFarland: "A very few sessions were sufficient to reveal the unsatisfactoriness of this bargain counter type of education, either for revenue, reputation or educational service."

In addition to the French and Spanish Schools on the campus, the bulletin announced the creation of a School of Chemistry under Professor Arthur Davis, which would enjoy the facilities of the Chemistry Laboratory. No mention was made of Miss Minnie Hayden's School of Music. In fact, there was no School of Music in the summer of 1920, whether by intention, or because Miss Hayden wished a leave of absence for the summer. The Music School was not announced for 1921 in the College Bulletin of December 1920, but it was actually held, and enrolled nine students. Miss Hayden was the only teacher and gave all three courses.

The "English School" now became a real School of English—the Bread Loaf School of English. Joseph Battell, lover of mountains and horses, kindly and individualistic citizen of Middlebury, publisher of the Middlebury *Register* and generous trustee of the college, had died in 1915. His will bestowed upon Middlebury College 31,000 acres of forest land including the Bread Loaf Inn and farm. For four years, war years, the trustees had continued to run the Inn as a summer hotel, but it was losing money rapidly. The decision had to be made to dispose of it or else to use it profitably in some other way. Professor

George K. Anderson tells in fascinating detail, in the first chapter of *The First Fifty Years,* how the problem was solved by the creation of the Bread Loaf School of English. The prime source of information is the little Middlebury College Bulletin of January 1929, containing articles by Dr. Edward D. Collins: "How the English School Came to Bread Loaf"; and by Wilfred Davison, "The Bread Loaf Idea."

Dr. Collins explains that in the summer of 1919 it had become clear to the college administration that something would have to be done with the heterogeneous courses known as the "English School", if only to give them dignified interment. "Only two facts stood out clearly: it was not a school of English; and —whatever it was—there was no longer room for it on the campus."

So, sometime in August, "the Director [Dr. Collins], President Thomas, Dean de Visme of the French School, and one other person [I would agree with Professor Anderson that it was Wilfred Davison] stretched themselves on a sunny slope of the Widow's Clearing, and spent an afternoon hour discussing the novel proposal that it [the Bread Loaf Inn] be turned into an educational asset. By successive moves, various possibilities were checked off. Dean de Visme with great care and evident seriousness summed up his reasons against a suggested transfer of the French School from the college to Bread Loaf, with the entire plant devoted to its use. His arguments seemed conclusive. At length, Bread Loaf and the so-called English School alone remained in the picture."

President Thomas saw the possibility of solving both problems in one stroke. But no one wanted to transfer the old-style "English School" to Bread Loaf. Several people share the credit for the proposal to create at Bread Loaf a genuine School of English. Wilfred Davison unequivocally gives the honor to Dr. Collins, in his article on "The Bread Loaf Idea." "Fortunately for Middlebury there was at the time in charge of our summer session another man of vision, a man who already had given concrete embodiment to his vision in the form of the Middlebury Modern Language Schools. . . . It was this man who originated the idea of the Bread Loaf School of English."

George Anderson reminds us of the conversation between Dr. Collins and Dr. Stanley Williams, then instructor in English at Yale, who had taught at Middlebury in the summer of 1919. As Dr. Collins explained to Dr. Williams that they didn't know what to do with the Bread Loaf Inn, Dr. Williams replied "half seriously, thinking of the schools in French and German, 'Why don't you have a school of English?' " and went on to discuss the possibilities of giving the summer courses in English a new direction at Bread Loaf. Williamson de Visme, at the conference in the Widow's Clearing, not only prevented the French School from being moved to Bread Loaf, but also explained the basic principles of the French School operation.

In fairness, great credit should be given to Wilfred Davison himself. He had taught German at the college from 1913 to 1918 according to the most modern "reform" methods; he was a student in the German School in its first summer of 1915; he was then transferred to the English Department in the winter, and became Secretary of the Summer Session in 1919. He was therefore, as Dr. Collins says, "the one man who knew by first hand contacts from the Director's office how the special schools were made up and how they operated."

WILFRED E. DAVISON
Asst. Professor of German, Middlebury College, 1913-1918; Professor of American Literature, 1921-1929; Dean of the Bread Loaf School of English, 1921-1929

Davison writes, "The purpose of the Bread Loaf School was, in brief, to do for teachers of English something similar to what was being done for teachers of modern language in the schools at Middlebury. Those schools bring native instructors into intimate contact with American teachers, and in a friendly and informal atmosphere concentrate for six weeks on the language in question, at present French and Spanish. To have a school for teachers of English in which nothing but English should be taught, to have as instructors the best teachers who could be secured, and to have a school limited in numbers and so organized that students and teachers should have the advantage of intimate association, the genuine contact of mind with mind—that was the plan."

No better definition of the Middlebury Language Schools could be given, at that time and even to the present day. Wilfred Davison, excellent scholar, superb teacher and administrator, was appointed Assistant Dean of the new School of English. He and Dr. Collins were fortunate to be able to persuade Professor Charles Baker Wright, the college's revered "elder statesman", about to retire, to accept the post of Dean, for one year. The College Bulletin of January 1919 announced that the first School of English would be conducted at Bread Loaf from Wednesday, June 30 to Thursday, August 5, 1920 (a day over five weeks). "This School is organized for teachers and students of the English language and literature, and offers instruction in the following divisions of their work: technique of teaching, composition, literary criticism, and expression." It is noteworthy that these four divisions correspond exactly to the already established divisions of the French and Spanish Schools' curriculum: methods of teaching, grammar and composition, literature, phonetics and oral expression. Modelled closely upon its foreign language antecedents in purpose and in organization, Middlebury's true School of English went to Bread Loaf.

Left alone on the Middlebury campus in 1920, the Schools of French, Spanish and Chemistry had room to expand. The Chemistry School enrolled ten students. The Spanish School shrank from 95 to 78. On the other hand, the French School doubled again, from 102 to 200, 13 men and 187 women. It occupied Pearsons and Starr Halls, Battell, Hillcrest and Hillside Cottages. The Spanish School was isolated in Hepburn Hall; and the Chemistry School in the Chemistry Building. The unit fee for tuition, board and room was now $125 for double occupancy of a room, or $160 for single occupancy, a considerable increase over the total of $70 in 1916.

The greatly increased enrollment in the French School required a much larger staff, with many additional course sections, especially of conversation and grammar. M. de Visme taught Synonyms, and La Fontaine; Dr. de la Jarrie gave his usual courses on Geography and Commerce, plus a course on Molière. The most distinguished addition to the staff was M. Osmond T. Robert of Smith College, who had headed a French Summer School at Dartmouth, and presumably brought a number of students from there. He was an excellent teacher, an expert on phonetics and methods of teaching, and became one of the pillars of the French School in succeeding summers. De Visme also brought a George Raffalovich from Dartmouth; Reverend Édouard Soulier, a member of the Chamber of Deputies in Paris; Simone de la Souchère, who had been appointed instructor in the winter session, and others; a total French faculty of thirteen. This made a ratio of 15 students per faculty member, not quite the ideal that de Visme had in mind, but highly profitable from the budget standpoint. It may be inferred that the large enrollment was something of a surprise, and an indication of the fast growing reputation of the school. It was still a school for the upgrading of language competence; only five courses in literature were offered, and none of them were of really advanced nature.

Chairman of the Department of Romance Languages now, Williamson de Visme set energetically at work to build up the study of French in the winter college. Sharing the department's courses with Duane Robinson, he taught Beginners' French, the History of France, and a "Teachers' Training Course" which covered advanced syntax, methods of teaching, and vocabulary building. The description of all three noted pointedly: "This course will be given in French." No such statement appears in Professor Robinson's courses. M. de Visme soon became a popular teacher in the college. He was a robust man, dynamic, very sociable and outgoing, a real leader; he had a trained singing voice and a hearty laugh. With a keen sense of showmanship, he often affected a French accent in speaking English, or some French mannerism, to draw attention to his mission as a representative of French culture.

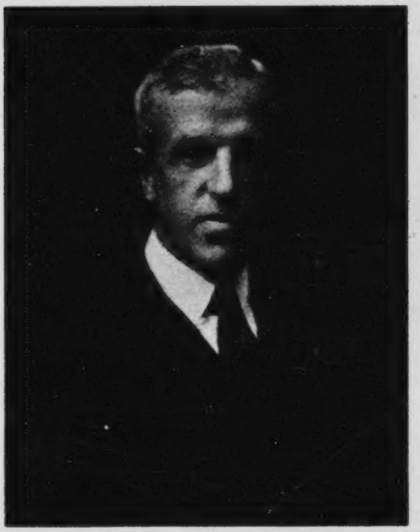
He soon organized, with the consent of President Thomas, a separate unit of instruction in the winter session called the French School, with a curriculum of its own at the "C" or advanced level, counting for a major or for graduate credit. The Catalogue of December 1920 states: "While independently conducted, the Department of French and the French School maintain reciprocal relations, . . . students in the Department of French whose qualifications permit may elect from the courses in the French School, while students in the French School, may elect, with the permission of the instructor, courses of "C" grade offered by the Department of French, without payment of extra fees." The staff of the French School in 1920-21 was composed of M. de Visme and his wife, Mme Alice Williamson de Visme, and Mlle Simone de la Souchère who was also enrolled as a graduate student. They offered courses in French history, geography, grammar, composition, conversation, and one on La Fontaine. Five graduate students were enrolled, and four special students.

Then de Visme had a stroke of genius, simple and epoch-making like all genius. Remembering his Château de Soisy, he organized "La Maison Française de Middlebury College." The college rented for him the so-called Logan House on Park Street, opposite the Cannon Park and just beyond the Sheldon Museum. It was, as the special bulletin on the French School 1921-22 (October 1921) says: "transformed into a characteristic French home for graduates and undergraduate students of the language who desire to pursue their study in residence. La Maison Française was officially opened on June 21, 1920 by Monsieur Gaston Liébert, Consul Général de France à New York. French alone is the language of the French School, and students entering the School are obliged to adhere strictly to this rule." During the year 1920-21, the whole de Visme family made their home there, with five graduate students, four special students, and eight undergraduates, a total of 17 students, including three men. Other students also took their meals there. The fees for the French School were $500 for tuition, board and room; $50 more than the fees for women in the other dormitories. The de Visme family included the two schoolboy sons René and Eric, and Mme de Visme's mother, a "grande dame très protocolaire" with her French maid. Mme de Visme supplemented the students' efforts in French by private lessons. Especially enjoyable were the musical evenings led by her.

La Maison Française of Middlebury College was *almost* the first such French House in the United States. The University of Wisconsin had, in September 1918, rented an empty fraternity house, installed 21 American girls and three young French women, hung out a tricolor, and begun the experiment of the first "French House." Professor Julian Harris of the University of Wisconsin tells, in the *Legion of Honor Magazine,* the interesting story of its moves, its financial problems, and the attractive new "Maison Française" which still continues the tradition. It is very doubtful that de Visme had heard of the Wisconsin French House in 1919 when he began planning the one at Middlebury, which thus became the second in the country.

Perhaps we are even entitled to make a small distinction. In a cordial letter to me dated November 5, 1948, my good friend Julian Harris wrote: "We do not require students to sign a pledge to speak only French while they are inside the building, but we do require residents to speak only French on the ground floor —in the dining room and in the parlors. . . ." In the Middlebury Maison Française, from the beginning, French was the only language permitted in all the house, especially in the students' rooms; and from de Visme's time on, the rule has been rigorous. In this sense of the exclusivity of the use of French, therefore, the Middlebury Maison Française was the first. Both at Wisconsin and Middlebury, the houses have been in uninterrupted operation to the present, and were soon imitated by a score of other colleges: Wellesley, Wheaton (Mass.), New Jersey College for Women, not to speak of Columbia and New York University where the Maisons Françaises are not houses of student residence, but

REV. PAUL D. MOODY
President of Middlebury College, 1921-1942;
Director of the Summer Session, 1924-1931



centers for study, meetings, and libraries.

The summer of 1921 was marked by several changes in personnel. Most important, President John M. Thomas had resigned in January to accept an appointment as President of Pennsylvania State College. Under his dynamic leadership, the Summer Session had been created and received its specialized orientation; and the college had expanded remarkably in new buildings, student enrollment, and financial resources. Dr. Edward Collins became Acting President as well as Provost; and the Director of the Summer Session when it opened. Dr. Paul Dwight Moody was elected the new president on July 28, and took office in September.

On September 20, 1920, M. Williamson de Visme had been awarded by the French Government the decoration of Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur. This title was now proudly inserted in all the bulletins. Thereafter he consistently used "Henri Pierre" instead of "H. P." as formerly. The French Government also made gifts of books to the school, and two awards to be conferred on students. In the French School faculty, Dr. de la Jarrie disappeared. Mme Alice de Visme, without degrees, but a highly intelligent woman and an excellent teacher, was added. Other noteworthy names were Professor Arthur G. Bovée of the University of Chicago; Mlle Berthe des Combes Favard, of the Hyde Park High School in Chicago, a charming and impressive personality from the French aristocracy; Mlle Marie Bideaud who later became the Directress of the Château; Pierre Lepaulle, a Fellow at Harvard and an editor of the Paris journal *La Liberté.*

Altogether, the French faculty numbered 21 for an enrollment of 180 students, a small decrease, giving the much better student-faculty ratio of 8.6 to one. Twenty-two courses were offered, including five in literature; Professors Robert and Bovée taught the phonetics and methods. Much importance was attached to a series of evening entertainments—illustrated lectures, singing, dances—in Pearsons Hall. Religious services conducted by de Visme were held every Sunday morning in Mead Chapel. The fees were increased again by $30, making $155 for double rooms, up to $185 for singles, including board and tuition.

The session of 1922 followed the same general pattern. Professor Osmond Robert of Smith College was named Assistant Dean, and Marie Bideaud, now also on the winter department staff, was Secretary to the Dean. The faculty remained a total of 21, but eleven of them were new. Among the new ones were Albert Cru, long a distinguished teacher at Williams College and Columbia; and André Pelmont, from Rice Institute, Houston. Painter Hall was added to the French dormitories, with the office of de Visme in the south entry. The enrollment was 183. President Moody opened the session on Sunday with an address to the students of all the schools on campus—French, Spanish, Chemistry and Music.

The January 1922 bulletin announced plans for an additional session of two weeks, from August 18 to 31 at Bread Loaf Inn "for students who may desire to continue conversational practice in French and Spanish under the direction of native instructors." Daily periods of practice in reading aloud for improving pronunciation, and rest and relaxation amidst surroundings of great scenic beauty were promised. The response was evidently not adequate, since the offer was not renewed in 1923; but the attempt foreshadowed the founding of the Writers' Conference on August 16, 1926, for those two weeks in the late summer when the Bread Loaf Inn was idle.

One of the students in the 1922 French Summer School was Miss Frederika G. Holden of Proctor, Vermont. She became enthusiastic about the work of the school, its methods, and the results obtained by the forceful leadership of Williamson de Visme. They talked about his dream of a real French château on the campus, even better than the one he had left at Soisy. He was persuasive that such a center would create an inspiring atmosphere for the school. On January 17, 1923 she wrote to President Moody offering to give $62,500 for the construction of a French House, if the college would raise or appropriate an equal amount. The trustees quickly agreed, and a young architect named J. Layng Mills, a friend of President Moody, was commissioned to design the building. In fact, he and de Visme had talked in the summer of 1922 about a possible plan, and de Visme had suggested the style of a French manorhouse—"a simple vigorous style, unmistakably French in character . . . domestic in character, which is fitting for a school in which students live, and where the purpose is to inculcate French thought through contact with French daily life and customs." (Letter from Mills to Moody, Nov. 13, 1922)

The first plans were elaborate. The special bulletin of the Schools of French and Spanish for 1923 shows the architect's drawing. The main building was to have a large wing to the east, with a two-story refectory, rooms for 57 students, besides salons and classrooms. The estimated cost was $150,000. M. de Visme, wishing to hold all the French classes in it, wanted more and bigger classrooms. But the trustees limited the appropriation to $125,000 and the wing had to be sacrificed. The dining room went into the basement; only two 40-place classrooms were included, and rooms for 49 students. Revisions continued

FRENCH SCHOOL FACULTY, SUMMER OF 1923
Back row, standing, l.-r.: M. Blanchet, M. Des Granges, M. de Vitone, Mme de Vitone, M. Fougeray, M. Cru, M. Stephan. Front row, second from left, M. Hardré; second from right, M. Robert

through 1923, and actual construction was not begun until the spring of 1924. An unforeseen amount of ledge had to be blasted out for the foundations, and used for fill under the west end. The ceremony of the laying of the cornerstone was held on Bastille Day, July 14, 1924, with Professor Andre Morize of Harvard as the featured speaker, and with the participation of the Governor of Vermont, President Moody, Professors Dequaire, Lalou, and Moreno-Lacalle. Le Château was finally completed in June 1925, and the ceremony of inauguration was held on June 16, in connection with the 125th Commencement of the college.

Another lady who became enthusiastic about the French School was Dorothy Canfield Fisher. After several visits in winter and summer, she wrote and had printed a lovely little brochure, illustrated with charming line drawings, entitled *The French School at Middlebury*. It is undated, but was done in April of 1923; it was reprinted with her consent by Dr. Collins on October 15, 1923. In a personal and persuasive style, Mrs. Fisher begins by saying that she was openly sceptical when she first heard stories about the splendid results of the French School. "I simply *knew* that such results . . . were impossible. . . . Nobody could have gone there with greater prejudice against the French School. . . . Now, I am a convert. . . . I do not know exactly how they do it, but I no longer have the slightest doubt that the trick is really turned." She tells of observing "not only all the finest modern discoveries in phonetics and methods, but also the same sort of flaming high-powered enthusiasm which accomplishes all the great things in this world. . . . Typical young Yankees . . . do actually experience the civilizing, broadening, ripening, maturing benefits which theoretically have always come from the mastery of another living language. It seems incredible but it is really true." She tells also of the summer school. "Teachers of French . . . assemble there and charge their individual batteries at the whirring dynamo of Professor de Visme's personality. . . . They go back to their work, scattered torch-bearers, inspired. . . ." Mrs. Fisher closes with a plea for financial support for this "remarkable treasure."

The French Summer School of 1923 showed increasing maturity. The practice of inviting a Visiting Professor from France was begun. Professor Charles-Marc Des Granges of the Lycée Charlemagne in Paris, a prolific author and editor of school texts for literary history, was the first. He lectured on the contemporary theatre and on secondary education in France. As in 1922, the curriculum was divided into Intermediate and Advanced courses; only the latter counted toward the Master's degree. There were twelve of the former, only eight of the latter. Only language courses appeared in the Intermediate group—grammar, composition, phonetics, dictation, vocabulary. The bulletin stated that the minimum preparation for admission was two years of French.

In addition to advanced work in civilization taught by de Visme, in geography by Mme de Visme, and a history course, the course on the theatre was the *only literature* course offered by the school. The enrollment reached the high point of 204; the faculty numbered 19. Five Master's degrees were awarded at the end of the session. Although about 70 percent of the students held the bachelor's degree, we cannot escape the conclusion that the level of preparation of these teachers was quite mediocre, that the chief task of the school was to upgrade their feeble competence in the language, and that the demand for or interest in literature was at a low ebb.

The "whirring dynamo" de Visme, still not busy enough, now spins off a new venture, a Middlebury Branch Summer School in France. The College Bulletin of January 1923 announced that a section of the French Summer School of 1923 would be located in Paris, with 20 days of resident study acceptable for credit toward a Middlebury degree. A little later, the Intercollegiate Tours of Boston, which handled the travel, published a 14-page leaflet giving full information. The cost of $835 covered all expense, including passage on steamers of the French Line, and three weeks of travel in France, before or after the session, which ran from July 15 to August 15. The students lived in the Hotel Lutetia, and classes were held in the École Bossuet nearby.

Professor Arthur Bovée, a member of the faculty of 1921, was appointed Associate Dean in charge; the other teachers were all former members of the French School faculty. No connection was made with the summer courses of the University of Paris or other French programs. Thirty-seven students were enrolled, all graduate students. Bovée must have worked very hard, for in addition to being in charge, he taught three courses: phonetics, methods of teaching, and history of the French language. Only one course in literature was given; 15 of the 37 students enrolled in it, and only five passed the final examination. On the whole, however, the project was successful and it was announced for repetition in 1924.

But black clouds were rolling up from the horizon, and soon the Middlebury French School was engulfed in one of those mid-summer thunder storms, with frightening flashes of angry lightning and cloudbursts of rain which sweep everything before them. Only after more than two years did the clouds pass by and the sun come out again.

Soon after President Paul Moody took office in September 1921, de Visme began talking of resigning. His reasons are not at all clear. He was closely attached to former President Thomas with ties of personal friendship that dated back to his Chicago days. Perhaps he felt that President Moody was not supporting him enough in the rivalry that was developing between his year-round "French School" and the French Department under Professor Duane Robinson and a young Assistant Professor Guy Forbush. The year 1922-23 was quieter, as the French Department was given up, absorbed by the French School under de Visme. Professor Robinson became Secretary of the Faculty. Then President Moody replaced Forbush by a young French officer named René Hardré, whom he had met in France during the war. Unfortunately, Hardré became a new source of jealousy and contention. He was a most likeable, outgoing person, and an excellent classroom teacher. He had the Certificat d'Aptitude Pédagogique which in France permitted teaching only in the primary schools. It was inferior to the American M.A. which de Visme held from Middlebury. He was, like de Visme, a Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur. M. de Visme feared that Dr. Moody was preparing to replace him with Hardré; Moody was simply thinking of Hardré as an understudy in case of need.

Enrollments in French in September 1923 climbed; forty percent of the undergraduates took French. Hillcrest, on the campus, became the Maison Française, instead of the Logan House in the village, in order to give more rooms for students. Albert Cru and his wife were added to the staff. Hardré was promoted from Assistant Professor to full Professor, equal in rank to de Visme. De Visme then presented his resignation, more or less in the form of an ultimatum to get rid of Hardré. After much painful discussion, the trustees had no choice but to accept the resignation, effective at once.

The Middlebury *Campus* reported in January that M. de Visme had been seriously ill for several weeks, from "overwork and overtired nerves." President Moody announced the resignation in Chapel on February 4, 1924. M. de Visme and his family had already left town; and he entered the Clifton Springs, N.Y. Sanitorium to rest and regain his health. The Undergraduate Association passed a resolution "in recognition and appreciation of the inestimable service that . . . [he] has rendered to the college and to the students." It spoke of his "career of remarkable achievement" and told how the French School had been "built up by his own indefatigable energy and genius." An editorial in the *Campus* said that he was much beloved by his students, took a personal interest in them, and was an "inspiring friend . . . who will never be forgotten."

President Thomas immediately invited him to Pennsylvania State College, with an appointment as Director of the Institute of French Education which was created for him. That Summer Institute was a competitor of Middlebury for a number of years. The Middlebury *Campus* of April 2, 1924 carried a dispatch from Penn State claiming that "the French House idea first started at Penn State in 1921, and is expected to become more of a success than ever under M. de Visme." We refer simply to our account of the opening of the Middlebury

French House on June 21, 1920.

When President Thomas went to Rutgers University, de Visme followed him there in 1926, as Head of the French Department of New Jersey College for Women. He suffered a severe heart attack in October of that year and died on June 22, 1927 at the age of 52. His wife carried on his classes during that year, and continued teaching there. His was a brilliant and tragic career. He had magnificent gifts and tremendous energy. He had also "the defects of his virtues" as the French expression goes. With the support of President Thomas and Dr. Collins, he developed Fräulein Stroebe's original concept of a language school into a far more imaginative and comprehensive success than she had dreamed.

President Moody received another blow in the resignation of Dr. Edward Collins as Director of the Summer Session on March 1. He continued as Comptroller of the college until 1925. His health had not been good. He was also planning to open the École Champlain, a Junior French camp, on Lake Champlain. It aimed to do for high school girls what he had tried to do for teachers. It was doubtless suggested by Dr. Stroebe's summer camps back in 1912 and 1913. It became a great success, probably the best French summer camp in the United States. After his death in 1940 it was continued by his daughter Ruth and her family. Dr. Collins was the real architect of the Middlebury Summer Schools, developing their unique form and purpose, and creating the basis for their national reputation. Most especially the Bread Loaf School of English was his child. He conceived it, and personally organized its form and the main divisions of its curriculum, accurately judging the needs and interests of teachers of English.

These discouragements for President Moody were slightly alleviated by the word that he had been awarded the decoration of Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur, for his services as Chaplain in the U.S. Army in France, first with the 26th Division, and later as General Pershing's Chaplain at the GHQ. He already had the Palmes Académiques. The public ceremony took place in Mead Chapel on Memorial Day, when Professor Hardré, also of the Légion, pinned the medal upon him.

President Moody now assumed the title of Director of the Summer Session. He had to work quickly in order to save the French Session of 1924 from chaos. With the help of Julien J. Champenois, Director of the New York office of the Office National des Universités Françaises, he secured M. Jean Dequaire as Dean of the French School. The appointment was made specifically for the summers of 1924 and 1925, and for the academic year between. A preliminary announcement and the complete bulletin, both dated January 1924 but not published until March, carried the news. M. Dequaire was Agrégé de l'Université (considered the equivalent of the American Ph.D.), a professor at the prestigious Lycée Voltaire in Paris, and an authority on methods of teaching in France.

At the same time, the fortunate appointment was announced of René Lalou as Visiting Professor from France. M. Lalou was also an agrégé, professor at the equally prestigious Lycée Henri IV, and much acclaimed for his recently published *Histoire de la Littérature Française Contemporaine*. Mme Lalou, herself one of France's rare women agrégées, taught one course. Professor James

Broussard of Louisiana State University, a specialist in phonetics, joined the staff. It was a strong faculty of 14 members, and the curriculum was set at a somewhat higher level, with six courses in literature and culture. The enrollment declined to 123. Some students undoubtedly followed M. de Visme to Penn State. Several steamship lines were also offering special low rates to Europe.

Except for the smaller enrollment, the French Summer School of 1924 was reasonably successful. Professor Dequaire brought his wife and child with him and they lived in the Logan House. Dequaire was a distinguished intellectual, a little stiff in appearance, and lacking in adaptability to a new and delicate situation, but sociable and likeable. He got along well with most of his faculty and students. Unaccustomed to American psychology, he was not particularly successful in class. Without any experience in this sort of school, he tried hard to follow the traditions established by de Visme. Lectures, musicales, folk singing followed the usual evening pattern. Temple Tours Intercollegiate Division published an announcement of a Middlebury Branch Summer School in France for 1924, with out-of-date references to Dr. Collins, Director and M. de Visme, Dean; but the school and tour were cancelled.

The summer was a lull between storms, however, for the black clouds had not gone away. Even before Dequaire's arrival on campus, trouble began to brew over Professor René Hardré. M. Julien Champenois wrote to President Moody an uncompromising letter in which he declared that a teacher belonging to the French primary school system is not qualified to teach French and French literature in a college, that he cannot thoroughly understand more than 20% of the words in a French dictionary, and is incapable of reading and explaining Montaigne and Pascal. He declared that this is a question of the intellectual hierarchy upon which the whole French university system rests. President Moody replied firmly that M. Dequaire had a temporary appointment for only one year and two summers, and he could not permit him to discharge Hardré. The matter was complicated further by the fact that Moreno-Lacalle had been named Director of the Romance Language Schools, i.e., of both French and Spanish. Dequaire, as Dean of the French School, did not have the same independent authority over the French School as de Visme had had, and as he had expected to have.

The stage was set for a stormy year. The French staff consisted of Dequaire, Hardré, and two young women. Professional jealousies and divided authority were exacerbated by irresponsible gossip. Confrontations multiplied; academic discipline disappeared. Undergraduate enrollments dropped sharply. Other faculty members and some of the trustees were dragged into the complex quarrels. The trustees investigated, but could propose no real solutions to the problem. President Moody then appealed to Prof. André Morize of Harvard for advice and guidance, and especially as a referee. A friend of Moody, he had given the address at the laying of the cornerstone of the Château. He endeavored, through many conferences with Moody, Champenois, Dequaire, and others, to secure at least an armistice, all in vain.

Finally, on January 14, 1925, President Moody wrote to André Morize, asking if he would be willing under any possible arrangement to become the Director of the French Summer School and the adviser of the French Department.

Morize accepted on the sole condition that the School be started again with an entirely new personnel.

Professor Hardré was persuaded to resign, and did so with good grace, effective in June. With Morize's help, he later secured a good position at North Carolina College for Women. Professor Dequaire's contract continued until the end of the summer session of 1925, which he administered as Dean. The session had a certain amount of success by momentum. Students numbered 128; they knew vaguely that something was wrong underneath, but few knew just what. The Lalous, highly successful in 1924, had been invited back, but Dequaire was hostile, and they withdrew, as the better part of valor. Champenois aided in securing a distinguished Docteur-ès-Lettres from the Lycée Louis-le-Grand, Professor Marcel Braunschvig, as Visiting Professor. He was a scholarly gentleman, widely known for his editions of school texts. A dignified, professional type, he remained generally aloof. A second Visiting Professor was named: Henri Servajean, Agrégé, professor at the Lycée Saint-Louis. He held the influential and politically useful post of member of the national baccalauréat jury. The only other man on the staff of 15 was René Guiet, then an instructor in the University of Illinois, who later taught for a while at the Penn State French Institute, but returned to Middlebury in the summer of 1944. An excellent teacher and a loyal Middlebury supporter, he remained with us through the summer session of 1970.

The session followed the customary program: Dequaire taught methods, Braunschvig and Servajean literature, Guiet phonetics, and the ladies took care of the language classes. Picnics were held on the campus on the ridge north of Pearsons, as very few students had automobiles in those days. The musical soirées and folk songs were popular, led by M. Guiet on his violin. There was some kind of program every class day evening. Chapel services on Sunday mornings were led by men members of the faculty in turn. On Bastille Day, after games in front of the French House (Hillcrest), the students paraded in costumes, with flags and lanterns, to Flat Rock near Otter Creek for a picnic. In the evening, they danced to special music on the lawn.

Only one episode, at the end of the session, marred the relative calm. In his final talk, President Moody paid the ritual compliments to Dequaire and his staff. In speaking of plans for the next summer, he mentioned that the Lalous had been invited for 1926, and that Hardré might return later. Dequaire was furious, and led the whole faculty down to the president's house the following night for a violent protest session. Some of the members went back later to apologize.

This was the last thunderclap of the storm that had lasted for over two years. The summer school closed on August 21. A strong refreshing breeze came up from the south (from Harvard) and swept the dark clouds away. The sky was once more clear and blue; the sun could come out again.

THE FOUNDERS

The Spanish School

Julián Moreno-Lacalle, 1917-1929

After German and French, Spanish. In the winter of 1916-17, Dr. Collins, then Acting President, and Professor McFarland, Director of the Summer Session in his place, were quite aware that the success of the German and French Schools justified experimenting with another language. More evident still was the popular emotional swing against German and toward Spanish. For example, the New York City Board of Education cancelled the teaching of German in its schools, and advised the teachers to prepare themselves to teach Spanish in September. Middlebury's opportunity was obvious.

Julián Moreno-Lacalle, Instructor in Spanish at the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis, was invited to assume the directorship of a new Spanish Summer School at Middlebury. He was born in Manila, Philippine Islands, of a distinguished Spanish family. His father was a prominent lawyer in Manila. He graduated from the old University of Santo Tomás with an A.B. in 1895; and did graduate work in law there and at the Colegio Real de María Cristina at the Escorial in Spain. Later, he studied business administration at the Institut Concordia in Zurich. He returned to Manila as a translator in the Executive Bureau of the Philippines, 1900-1905. He then came to Washington as a translator and editor at the Pan-American Union, and also taught Spanish in the Spanish-American Atheneum. In 1914 he became Instructor, later Associate Professor of Spanish in the U.S. Naval Academy where he remained until appointed to the faculty of Middlebury in 1920. He completed the Master of Arts degree at the University of Maryland in 1918. He was a man of distinguished appearance, medium stature, thick-set, with a close-cropped mustache; of vigorous, positive speech; an outgoing, sparkling Latin personality, with a touch of the "Grandee of Spain."

Professor Moreno-Lacalle brought with him to the Spanish School of 1917 his brother-in-law and colleague at the Naval Academy, José Martel. He was a native of Seville, Spain, and had earned his baccalaureate at the University of Seville. He graduated from the Normal College of Teachers at Seville in 1905, and taught in the Spanish Army for three years. After a year of teaching in the Spanish-American Atheneum in Washington, with Moreno-Lacalle, he was appointed Instructor and later Associate Professor of Spanish at the Naval Academy. He too completed his Master's degree at the University of Maryland in 1918. In 1925 he was appointed to the Spanish Department of Townshend Harris Hall at the College of the City of New York and Lecturer in Spanish at Hunter College. He has now retired and is living in New York. His sister was Mrs. Carmen Moreno-Lacalle. His son Charles and daughter-in-law the former Lucene Slayton are both graduates of Middlebury. He has been most helpful and generous in providing me with information and photographs of the early days of the Spanish School.

The Middlebury College Bulletin of the Ninth Summer Session, and the special Prospectus of the Romance Language Schools, published in February 1917, announced the addition of a Spanish School, with these two men as the staff. "The methods of the Spanish School will be similar to the methods that are maintained in the French and German Schools. Spanish will be the language of the School, and students will hear the purest Castilian in recitations, in the dining hall, at social gatherings, lectures and musical entertainments. . . . During the entire session, the students will be expected to use no other language than Spanish, and will live in an entirely Spanish atmosphere." Fräulein Stroebe was frequently consulted. Señor Moreno-Lacalle was a student of phonetics, familiar with the principles of the German Reform Method of Viëtor.

Plans were made for about 20 students; the final enrollment was 63, with several more from the other schools attending courses, totalling in fact almost as many as the French and German Schools together. There were 57 women and 6 men, a striking proportion of them having names of German origin. It was necessary to hire three more instructors. The chief reason for the overwhelming enrollment was evidently the fact that it had been decided to admit beginners, in order to satisfy the demand of German teachers switching to Spanish. The great majority, 39 out of 63, were beginners. Señor Moreno-Lacalle gave a course on the Teaching of Spanish, and an illustrated lecture course on Latin-American Geography and Industry. Professor Marcel taught the only course in Spanish literature, a survey; directed the Elementary Grammar and Conversation courses; and shared with Moreno-Lacalle a course in Spanish phonetics and pronunciation, newly organized in response to the evident need, one of the first in this country. Most of the students took it, but no credits were allowed for it.

Battell Cottage was reserved for the Spanish School, but because of the large enrollment, the students were scattered in five different buildings, including Pearsons and Hillside. They occupied eight tables in the Battell Cottage dining hall, separate from the five French tables. Students were assigned to tables according to their proficiency in the language: advanced, intermediate, and beginners. Pearsons Social Hall was reserved on alternate evenings for French and Spanish. It will be remembered that in 1917, the general Summer Session still admitted students for Chemistry, Dramatic Expression, Education and Psychology, English, History, Music, and Physical Education, besides the foreign languages. Those students, 67 in all, were housed on the campus, and fed in Battell Cottage. The isolation of the small German School in Hepburn was ideal; that of the French and Spanish Schools was far less so. The Battell dining-room was extremely crowded.

We are fortunate to have the official reports for 1917 of Professors McFarland and Moreno-Lacalle. Similar reports for subsequent years before 1924 have not been found. In his report, Moreno-Lacalle indicates that the session was academically successful. He complains, however, of the scattering of students in five dormitories, the inadequate number of instructors, the shortage of table heads, and the lack of administrative assistance in the complex extra-curricular activities. He feels that in the dining-room "it is not in keeping with the dignity of the Director's position to move from table to table, instead of presiding regularly at the head table."

The greatest shortcoming of the school lay in the impossibility of creating a real Spanish atmosphere through the exclusive use of the Spanish language, as had been promised in the bulletins. It should have been foreseen that by admitting nearly two-thirds beginners, the "language of the school" could not be exclusively Spanish. The report admits that "Spanish conversation in the dining hall was not maintained to the desirable point," since "the students themselves refused to speak Spanish, some because they were beginners, and others because, as they said, it was too much of a strain for them to express themselves in a foreign language while eating their meals." Other students complained of this laxity, but the Director disclaimed responsibility. The report cites several cases of student insubordination, refusal to attend activities of the school, refusal to stay in assigned classes, private arrangements to room with a German student, and a clique that refused to speak Spanish outside of class. The Middlebury tradition was not yet firmly established; and Professor Lacalle, accustomed to the stern discipline of the Naval Academy, did not yet know quite how to handle teachers.

The social program was heavy, something every evening in the week: folk-singing, open-air readings, parlor games, illustrated lectures, picnics and excursions, a Red Cross benefit, an entertainment and dance in honor of Professor and Mrs. McFarland. The Prospectus had announced that the students would organize themselves into a Spanish Club, for the purpose of planning social events and creating opportunities to speak Spanish. But the elected president tried to be too independent of the Director, and the idea was dropped.

With the aid of the Pan-American Union in Washington, a large and well-organized collection of illustrative material was promptly gathered, better indeed than that of the German School. It is worth noting that from the start, the Middlebury Spanish School gave equal attention to Pan-America, as well as to the

JULIÁN MORENO-LACALLE
Founder of the Spanish Summer School, 1917, and its Director, 1917-1929; Professor of Spanish and Dean of the Spanish School, 1920-1929

mother country of Spain. Faculty members have been drawn equally, even without distinction, from both; and a wise balance has been kept in the courses offered, both in literature and in general culture. All pronunciations and accents have been accepted, from Castilian to Argentinian.

Professor Moreno-Lacalle's report for 1917 closes with several pages on "The Outlook for Next Summer", and "Recommendations." He points out that because of the war, the demand for competent teachers of Spanish greatly exceeds the supply, and that the rush on Spanish summer schools will be enormous. Besides, in comparison with French and German, the teaching of Spanish lags far behind in quality: textbooks are inadequate; nothing has been done in Spanish methodology and applied linguistics or phonetics. "Middlebury should and can have the best summer school for training teachers in Spanish." He recommends thorough planning far in advance, better grading of students and better discipline, wide publicity, a larger staff, tuitions and salaries increased. Professor McFarland was evidently correct in saying in his final report that "the most satisfactory event of the Summer Session of 1917 was the establishment of a Spanish School. . . . There was an 'esprit de corps' among faculty and students that made the Spanish School the most harmonious and enthusiastic school of Middlebury."

The optimistic prophecies for 1918 were fully realized. The enrollment in the Spanish School almost doubled, to 114. Again, a notably large proportion of the students were women with names of German origin. Again there were only six men, one of them Charles Holzwarth, Ph.D. Leipzig, a distinguished educator of Rochester, N.Y. Professor Moreno-Lacalle, with Professor José Martel, was assisted by a whole new staff. Professor Molton A. Colton, also of the U.S. Naval Academy gave the important course in phonetics. Two interesting new courses in conversational practice were tried, using as material the culture and "realia" of Spain, or of Latin-America. The former was taught by Professor Martel; the latter by Professor Balbino Dávalos of the University of Minnesota, formerly Minister of Mexico to Portugal and Russia. Professor Lacalle himself taught the course in Methodology, in which his theories of the "phonetic" and "analytic-inductive" methods were illustrated in demonstration classes of pupils at the junior high level, taught in part by the students.

No beginners were accepted and no elementary courses were given. This laudable decision was made highly desirable by the example of the German and French Schools and the bad experience of 1917; and was made possible by the pressure of applications during the winter. Accommodations for the large number were provided by transferring the Spanish School to the exclusive occupancy of Hepburn Hall (vacated by the closing of the German School), where it still remains after more than half a century. Isolated in a fine new building with an attractive refectory and upstairs lounge all to itself, the social life of the school blossomed, and quite generally in the Spanish language. Folk-dancing in costume was led by the charming Señora Carmen Moreno-Lacalle, Señor Martel's sister. Each summer thereafter she gave a program of Spanish songs presented in lovely Spanish costumes. The beautiful number "Clavelitos" (the carnation vendor) was particularly popular. Choral singing of Spanish songs was much enjoyed. Afternoon readings and talks were held outdoors under the trees. A large group of "Players" was organized, and several plays were given by students and faculty members.

In spite of well organized publicity—a special Circular, and a Romance Language School leaflet besides the regular Bulletin—the Spanish enrollment in the summer of 1919 declined somewhat, to 95. The war was over; the study of German was coming back a little; the French School doubled. It was a successful session, nevertheless, with a strong faculty. Dean Lacalle and Professor Martel returned; Cincinato Laguardia was new, also from the U.S. Naval Academy; plus two young Spanish men and five señoritas, a total teaching staff of ten. The more advanced level of the school was evidenced by the offering of four new courses in literature and culture, besides four half-course lecture series on literature. During the year, to fill the need for textbooks, Lacalle had published *Elements of Spanish Pronunciation;* and in grammar: *Elementos de Español.* Special coaching classes were conducted to prepare teachers for the certifying examinations in New York State and elsewhere.

Worthy of note is a "Word of Advice" that appeared in the Summer Session Bulletin for 1919. Students frequently request permission to divide their work between two modern language schools, it says, fearing monotony, or hoping to accomplish more. Besides the presence of a great variety of subject matter in each school, "concentration upon one language is absolutely necessary. . . . In no case should the students plan to divide their time between the French and Spanish Schools . . . [since they] would fail to receive the greatest benefit from either school." The day of the smörgasbord summer session is over; isolation and concentration are the recipe for the new era.

Another significant paragraph, printed on the back of the Preliminary Announcement of the Romance Language Schools for 1919, is a sort of "magna carta" for the preparation of language teachers at Middlebury. "The essential needs of modern language instruction in America stand more clearly revealed than ever before. They are summed up in this: *Better Teaching.* But better teaching involves at least three things on the part of the teacher: (1) Command of the language, not a halting, stammering, fumbling utterance of it, but . . . as the educated native speaks it; (2) Not a knowledge of the speech alone, but knowledge of things French, German, or Spanish—the history, geography, industries, music, plays and dances, customs, and traditions of the people and land, so that an intimate acquaintance with thought, feeling, and institutions forms the background of the language studied; and (3) A training in the technique of teaching. It has remained for the specially created Summer Session to do . . . what the American college in its regularly constituted sessions has never been able to accomplish."

The summer of 1919, probably, inaugurated one of the very special features of the Spanish School, which continued for a long time, the "Juegos Florales" or Floral Games. The classic Spanish Juegos Florales were a literary tournament dating from the time of the Provenzal troubadours. They were held annually in various cities of Spain and southern France. Prizes were awarded for the best poems or literary works submitted in an announced competition. The first prize was always a natural flower, the other prizes might be gold or silver. The tournament closed with an impressive "fiesta". The "Queen" surrounded by

To signalize the complete disappearance of the old Summer School organization, no general Summer Bulletin of the college was published in the spring of 1920, only separate special bulletins for the French School and the Spanish School, for the newly created Bread Loaf School of English, and for the School of Chemistry. De Visme and Lacalle were called Deans, not Directors. No School of Music was announced or held in 1920; and the College Catalogue of December 1920 said pointedly that "The Summer Session of Middlebury College is conducted in four separate schools, each of which has its Dean and a special staff of instructors."

Miss Minnie Hayden came back, however, in 1921, alone, without special announcement or bulletin, and taught three courses, to nine students. The Bulletin on the four Summer Schools, (Nov. 1920) explains that her work had been so highly valued by members of the summer session that "it was deemed advisable, upon the withdrawal of the English School to Bread Loaf, to grant Miss Hayden the facilities of the Music Studio for the continuance of her private work."

The special Spanish School Bulletin of 1920 was not published until April, and it gave no personal data about new members of the teaching staff: Dr. Luis Herrera, another of the Naval Academy faculty; Dr. César Barja of Connecticut College, Professor de Soto of the University of Illinois, Señor O. Vera of Dartmouth. Literature was again stressed, with six courses. Spain and Spanish America received balanced attention in courses in literature and contemporary life. Three sections of a course on Social and Commercial Correspondence indicate its popularity. Señor Martel gave a series of illustrated lectures on Spanish contemporary art. The Spanish School enrollment declined again, to 78, sixteen men and 62 women, a low point. A special feature that summer was a ride on the S.S. Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain.

Dean Lacalle, now at Middlebury year-round, did his utmost for publicity. With the support of Dr. Collins, Director, an attractive bulletin of the four schools was published in November 1920, and sent to an expanded mailing list. It contained the most complete statement, thus far, of the new organization, philosophy and purpose of the Language Schools, the principles of isolation, concentration, and coordination, the location and atmosphere of the schools, the structure and aims of the new School of English, and of the limited role of the special School of Chemistry in its corner of the campus. Other bulletins and announcements followed.

Dean Lacalle became active in regional teachers' organizations. He spoke in October to the Vermont Teachers' convention on the "Planning of Language Courses and Selection of Textbooks", and to the New England Modern Language Teachers in Boston in December on "The Art of Questioning in Language Teaching." Both speeches were published as a Middlebury College Bulletin (April, 1921) and widely circulated. He used this sort of meeting effectively for the distribution of bulletins, and served frequently as an officer in some of the associations. In the spring of 1921, Dr. Collins, then Acting President, made a request in faculty meeting for volunteers for the post of Editor of College Publications without additional remuneration. Dean Lacalle offered his services, was appointed, and served in that capacity until he left Middlebury.

Thanks in part to such publicity efforts, enrollment in the summer of 1921 rose to 91, and in 1922 to 105. The faculty and courses of 1921 show few changes. José Martel went on leave for three summers. Miss María de Oñate, of the winter department staff, was a "first prize" of the Conservatory of Music in Madrid. She gave a series of illustrated talks on Spanish music, and stimulated much interest in the musical activities of the school. The session closed with the performance of a musical comedy *La Revoltosa* by López Silva, a smart revue of manners in Madrid. New courses dealt with Don Quijote, the literature of Argentina and Chile, and Spanish sociology.

The session of 1922 was opened by an address of welcome by Middlebury's new President Paul D. Moody. Two new faculty members gave courses in their respective fields: Dr. Primitivo Sanjurjo from Cornell in art history and modern painters; Dr. Victor Andrés Belaunde, professor of political science at San Marcos, Peru, and Minister Plenipotentiary of Peru to Uruguay in 1919, member of a distinguished family of Peruvian diplomats. A staff of ten gave 17 courses, eleven of them on literary or cultural subjects. This compared with a staff of 18 in the French School, giving 25 courses, of which only seven were on literary or cultural subjects, to 183 students. It is obvious from an examination of the curriculum that whereas both men were aiming primarily at the improvement of teaching in the high schools, Señor Lacalle was much more interested than M. de Visme in the peoples and cultures of which the language is only one expression. M. de Visme's school concentrated upon improving the teachers' control of the language as the vehicle.

The Spanish School set a new record by awarding three Master's degrees, one of which was to Roy E. Mosher who was for many years Supervisor of Modern Languages for New York State.

The expansionist dreams of Williamson de Visme in 1923 were enthusiastically shared by Moreno-Lacalle. A Middlebury Spanish School in Granada was announced for the summer of 1923, and three attractive leaflets were published by the Intercollegiate Tours of Boston. Lacalle went to Spain in November 1922 to make the arrangements. Professor César Barja, then at Smith College, was to be in charge. Like the French plan, the school was to last four weeks, with travel before or after. The cost was to be $960. Only three students signed up, and the project was cancelled.

Another venture by both schools was a series of Home-Study Courses, announced in leaflets for 1922-23 and 1923-24. For $40, a student could receive by mail 30 lessons at graded levels in French Composition or Spanish Composition or Spanish Letter-writing, during a seven-month period, and have his papers corrected, graded, and returned with explanations. No credits were allowed, but a certificate was promised for satisfactory completion of the course. We cannot judge how successful the effort was, for no record of participation survives.

Stimulated by de Visme's success with the Maison Française, Lacalle created a Casa Española in Hillside Cottage in the winter of 1921-22. It was a small cottage holding at most a dozen women. Three Spanish faculty members lived there with the students, Misses Rodríguez, de Oñate, and Ladd. The use of Spanish in the Casa was encouraged but not required. It was too small a unit for financial efficiency, but it continued for several years. No extra charge was made at that time, although there was a $50 extra charge for living in the Maison Française. In 1923, President Moody expressed concern about the operating deficit of the house and dining room.

Under the new Editor of College Publications, publicity doubled and trebled. The general Bulletin of the Summer Session had been discontinued after November 1920, replaced by separate bulletins. Beside the usual Preliminary Announcement and the regular Bulletin of the Schools of French and Spanish, there were separate bulletins for the Schools of English, Chemistry and Music. The French School published its prestigious brochure by Dorothy Canfield Fisher. To keep things even, a similarly attractive brochure, *The Middlebury School of Spanish,* was published at about the same time, with pretty drawings of scenes in Spain. The author is not named. He writes forcefully of the "absolute necessity of a clear understanding among American citizens of the aims, achievements, languages, and thought of all nations. Especially is this true of the Spanish-speaking countries of the Old and New Worlds. With a combined population of 100 million covering an area twice that of the United States, these nineteen countries represent a great and growing force in the world today." The philosophy and method of the school are well described, insisting especially on the constant friendly association between teacher and pupil. It closes with a plea for a better knowledge of the literary and artistic treasures of Spain and Spanish America, and for a "deepening and developing of all the ties of friendship and good feeling that unite the Americas of the North and South."

In spite of valiant publicity and several special leaflets, the Spanish School enrollment of 1923, dropping to 92, while the French School rose to a high point of 204, reflected the ebbing of the post-war surge of Spanish. It was a good session, however, with a faculty distinguished by the arrival of Dr. Carlos Concha, Professor of History in the Military Academy of Peru, and Assistant Professor of Political Economy at San Marcos in Lima. Political reasons made it wise for him to accept voluntary exile. He became a brilliant teacher and leader at Middlebury, and Dean of the Spanish School in 1929-30. Another distinguished scholar was Dr. Santiago Argüello, Professor in the Faculties of Letters and Law at the University of Leon, Nicaragua; and later Chief Justice of the Nicaraguan Supreme Court. He was well known for his poetry and literary essays as well. He gave an interesting new course on the Mystic Literature of Spain. Señorita de Alda lectured on the Spanish Woman in the World of Letters. Dean Lacalle dropped his course in Pedagogy which had been declining in popularity, and contented himself with preparing teachers through advanced courses in phonetics, still his forte, in grammar, and in the ever popular literary and cultural courses.

Named Director of the Romance Language Schools after the resignation of Williamson de Visme, Moreno-Lacalle was busier than ever in the spring and summer of 1924, assisting President Moody and the new French Dean Jean Dequaire in the plans and operation of the session. He followed the example of de Visme in naming for the first time a Visiting Professor from Spain, Professor Antonio G. Solalinde of the Centro de Estudios Históricos, a specialist on the *Poema del Cid*. José Martel returned, after three summers' absence. A new face was Señorita Alicia Acosta, then at Lake Erie College, who remained with the school for many summers. The session was saddened by the sudden illness and death of Señorita Francisca Martínez, then an instructor at Albany State Teachers' College. She had been a member of the Middlebury faculty since the summer of 1918, giving herself with great devotion to her teaching, and much beloved by her students. She lies buried in the Middlebury cemetery.

The enrollment declined again, to 75. In fact, enrollments declined in all the schools except Chemistry, drastically in the French. The total enrollment that summer dropped from 499 in 1923, to 348. Dean Lacalle blamed new low rates by steamship companies; but we may also note that Middlebury's rate for tuition, board and room was up to $190. It had been about $90 in 1917; $140 in 1920. It had more than doubled in eight years. This was due not only to the cost of living, but also to the constant urge of both Deans to engage more and better qualified teachers, who naturally cost more than the young women assistants who had been used at first. This was especially true for Dean Lacalle, who constantly urged an increase in rates in order to offer high quality courses in literature and culture.

The social and extracurricular activities under the direction of Señora Solalinde were particularly brilliant. Miss de Oñate gave another illustrated series on Spanish music, and directed the choral singing. There was a "Baile de Mascaras" or Costume Ball for which faculty and students dressed in lavish Spanish costumes. The "Juegos Florales" were sumptuous with speeches and readings in costume. A special dinner was served, with a menu of Spanish national dishes.

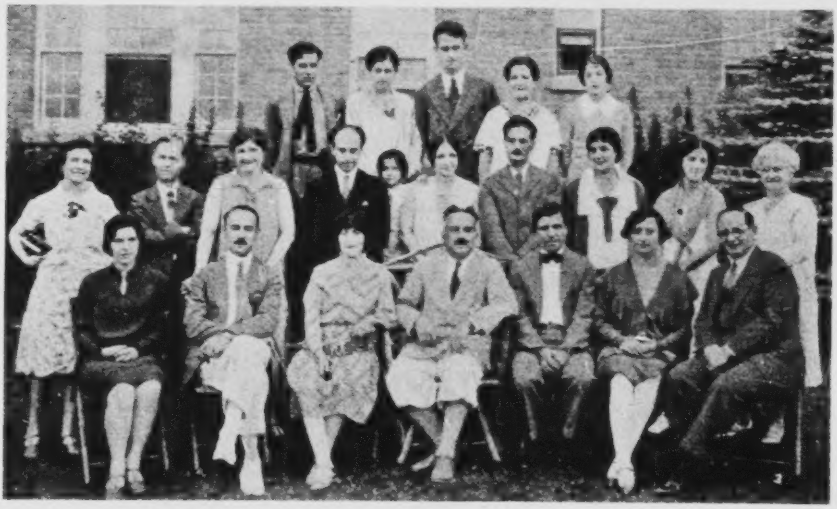
It became a custom, every summer, in order to permit and even require the students to become well acquainted with the faculty members who presided at tables in the dining room, to move from table to table according to an elaborate system, and to move around the table so that each student would frequently sit beside the teacher. Printed menus in Spanish were distributed, with a joke or anecdote on the back, as a starter for table conversation. Daylight Saving Time was observed on the entire campus from July 4 to August 22 by order of President Moody. Dean Lacalle reported after the session that the experiment should not be repeated, because the students stayed up too late and did not get enough sleep!

"Mother Mason's Garden" was a great asset to the life of the Spanish School. Mrs. Maude O. Mason was Superintendent of Dormitories and the presiding spirit of Hepburn Hall, both winter and summer, beloved by everyone. She developed a garden on the south side of Hepburn Hall, full of tulips in the spring, peonies in June, and various annuals all summer. She had a small summer-house built in it, which became the center of much of the Spanish School life: classes in the morning, conferences in the afternoon, folk-singing after dinner, musicales and "sainetes" in the evening, even when it rained.

One of the familiar friends of the school was Dean Lacalle's magnificent collie "Rey." He was really a "king", with handsome brown and white fur, and a regal air, much admired and petted by all. One day, as Professor Salas writes, the "Rey" was dethroned. He imprudently sniffed at a skunk, provoking the normal defensive reaction. The bad odor persisted in spite of many washings; and every time the dog smelled the affected spot, he shed bitter tears. After that, he rarely came to Hepburn, as if ashamed of the aroma that accompanied him.

The Spanish School had by now established a fairly standard pattern for the next few years. The enrollment averaged 80, though it fell to a low point of 65 in 1926 and reached a high point of 97 in 1929. The faculty numbered ten, not counting the important and useful faculty wives: Mrs. Lacalle, Mrs. Martel, and Mrs. Concha. The generally permanent team of Professors Martel, Concha and Acosta received varying additions in the form of visiting professors and specialists, and hence a certain amount of change in the basic course offerings. The earlier divisions of Recitation, Conversational, and Lecture courses were superseded by the more meaningful groupings of Phonetics and Philology, Language Realia (which included all civilization and cultural courses), Literature, and Special (which might include Methodology, Play Production, Folksongs, and Dances). In the last three groups, balanced attention was always given to both Spain and Spanish-America. Dean Lacalle usually taught or directed the work in phonetics and methods. He had also continued, doubtless by midnight lamp, to write textbooks for *Oral and Written Composition, Spanish Idioms and Phrases, Advanced Spanish Composition, The Mastery of Spanish Pronunciation,* with phonograph records; and even a *Metodo Racional de Inglés,* for teaching English to Spanish speakers. Some of these texts are still in use in Philippine or South American schools.

Spanish literary and cultural courses were given by José Martel and others; Carlos Concha and others took care of the Spanish-American counterparts. Aiming high, Dean Lacalle invited as Visiting Professors some of Spain's top-



SPANISH SCHOOL FACULTY, SUMMER OF 1929

Front row, second from left, Sr. Martel, and Sra. Martel behind him; then Sra. Concha Espina; Sr. Lacalle, and Sra. Lacalle behind him; then Sr. Carlos Concha, Sr. Juan Centeno behind him; Miss Rose Martin behind him in back row; Mrs. Maud Mason at right end of second row.

most intellectuals. He did succeed in bringing a series of very scholarly and interesting men: Ramiro de Maeztu, contributing editor of *El Sol* in Madrid, well-known journalist and lecturer; Dr. Miguel Herrero García, in 1926 and 1928, philologist of the Centro de Estudios Históricos of Madrid, who lectured on the old Spanish ballards and on the picaresque novel; José Vallejo, like Herrero a philologist from the Centro.

Best of all, in 1929 came Señora Concha Espina, Spain's foremost woman writer and one of Europe's important novelists. Over half of the school flocked to her course on her own novels. She was accompanied by her charming daughter doña Josefina de la Serna, who assisted her constantly because of her poor eyesight. At the Juegos Florales, especially impressive that year, doña Josefina was chosen "Reina"; doña Concha Espina spoke and read an unpublished poem "La Niña."

The appeal of Spanish music and its importance in creating the desired atmosphere at the school were recognized by Lacalle. His wife had contributed greatly in this respect. Her singing of folksongs in costume, "La Violetera", "Los Clavelitos", had charmed generations of students. Other teachers like Miss de Oñate and Elena Araujo had stimulated interest in Spanish music. In 1929 came Señora Miirrha Alhambra, a Spanish-American pianist. Spanish painting also received attention, in an exhibition in 1928 of the canvases of the noted Spanish painter José Drudis-Biada. He visited the school for a week, and discussed with the students his concepts and techniques of golden sunlight and poetic landscapes in Old Spain.

Dramatics were popular, and much emphasis was given to plays, especially one-act comedies which the teachers could stage in their own schools. In 1927, Miguel de Zárraga was secured, founder of the Spanish Theatre in New York, journalist, and author of several plays staged in Madrid. He taught a Play Production course, which gave one-act plays and sainetes weekly, and a long play at the end of the session. He was so successful that he returned for several summers to repeat the course and a program of plays. He was awarded an honorary Master of Arts degree in 1929 for his outstanding service to the school. These performances were part of the regular Thursday evening entertainments, and were accompanied by or alternated with performances of Spanish classic and folk dances, in costume. Lacalle engaged a professional danseuse to direct this work, Señorita Evelina Cortés, from New York.

Another side of the school's life received unexpected attention when Lacalle arranged with Rev. Archie Axtell, the Chaplain of Piedmont College, to become the summer chaplain. Neither Lacalle nor his faculty members were keen about conducting the regular Sunday afternoon services in Spanish in Mead Memorial Chapel. Reverend Axtell had been a missionary in Puerto Rico for several years; his Spanish was fluent, and he preached eloquent sermons.

Mention should be made here of the appearance on the staff, for the first time, of teachers who play important roles in the future of the Spanish School. In 1925, Miss Margarita de Mayo came from Vassar, the beginning of a long and skillful service, including that of first Director of the Graduate School in Spain. Juan Rodríguez Castellano taught in the winter department, 1924-26, as well as in the summer. Professor Manuel Salas, licenciado in law at Madrid and delegate to several international congresses, joined the staff for 1928 and 1929. He has kindly provided helpful information about those summers. Among the students in this period was Miss Rose E. Martin, who received her Middlebury Master's degree in 1929, was immediately appointed to the winter department, and taught Spanish here, skillfully and much beloved, until her death on April 15, 1959. Other students were Elvira Moreno-Lacalle, daughter of the Dean, and René de Visme, son of the former Dean of the French School. Elvira was also an undergraduate in the college, completed her B.S. in the class of 1929 and married Stewart C. Wright of the same class.

Most important of all the newcomers was, in 1929, a young man with his M.D. fresh from the medical faculty of the University of Madrid, Juan Centeno. He was destined to give twenty rich years to the Middlebury Spanish School summer and winter.

Hepburn Hall continued to be the Casa Española, with its dining room and lounge or "zoo" decorated with Mr. Hepburn's African trophies. Classes were held in Old Chapel. Dean Lacalle had an office in Hepburn Hall and one in Painter Hall, ground floor, near the office of the Registrar.

The dream of a School in Spain persisted still. Temple Tours distributed a brochure for the summer of 1925, advertising a "Middlebury Spanish School in Spain, in collaboration with the Centro de Estudios Históricos of Madrid." The schedule promised four weeks of study at the Centro under the supervision of Señorita Milagros de Alda of Middlebury, board in a Residencia and three weeks of travel, for $850. Seven students participated and one finished her Master's requirements there. The plan was attempted again in 1929; the bulletin announced that a Middlebury section would be located in Jaca, and that 20 days of study would be given by the University of Zaragoza, with tours following. No record remains of any student participation; the project was probably cancelled.

In his report to President Moody for 1925, Dean Lacalle told of other dreams which came to fruition only later. One was a Spanish Casa on the campus, like the Château. He urged that the trustees authorize him to launch a campaign among Spanish and Spanish-American business groups in this country, to raise $150,000 for the purpose "by appealing to their patriotic sentiments." The realization of this dream had to wait until the building of Allen Hall in 1963. Another dream was the authorization for the Language Schools to confer the Ph.D. degree for advanced work beyond the Master's. He and Williamson de Visme, neither of whom possessed the doctorate, had begun talking about it quite a while before; and in his report of 1923, he had made a formal recommendation to this effect. The eventual creation of the Doctorate in Modern Languages will be discussed in Chapter Six.

Another dream was a highly personal one: he coveted an official decoration. He had corresponded with various dignitaries in Spain about it; and in 1925, Miguel de Zárraga persuaded the Spanish ambassador in Washington and other well-placed friends in the Spanish aristocracy. Dean Lacalle became in 1927 Knight Commander of the Royal Order of Isabel la Católica, and Officer of the Order of the Bust of the Liberator, Venezuela. The latter distinction was largely due to his book *El Centenario de la Independencia de Venezuela.* Through his efforts, President Moody also was decorated Knight Commander in the Order of Isabel la Católica.

Ambition took Julián Moreno-Lacalle away from Middlebury. Dr. John Thomas, who had brought him here, had become President of Rutgers University, after a four-year stay at Pennsylvania State College. Williamson de Visme had followed him. Declining enrollments in Spanish at Middlebury had created handicaps for Dean Lacalle's ambitious new projects. His search for even more numerous, distinguished and expensive teachers ran into opposition from President Moody and the watchful new Business Manager Jay J. Fritz. They tried to insist that the Spanish School be self-supporting as far as possible, or at least that the deficit be kept under control. He began to look with yearning for a larger place with more money, and soon listened to the blandishments of President John Thomas.

A trial marriage was arranged, and he was granted leave for the academic year 1928-29 to accept a year's visiting appointment at Rutgers University. During his absence, Professor Cameron Ebaugh and Miss Rose Martin, then a graduate fellow in the department, replaced him. Mrs. Lacalle and the family remained in Middlebury at their home on South Main Street. She assisted with the Spanish Club activities, sang at the Spanish Carnival, and lent her customary charming support to the department.

Lacalle returned to Middlebury for the summer of 1929. It was a most successful summer, with a larger enrollment and an excellent faculty. He gave his full vigor and enthusiasm to the work. He wanted very much to continue as a visiting Director of the Spanish Summer School here, while occupying his winter post at New Brunswick, in the same way that André Morize of Harvard had been appointed visiting Director of the French Summer School. After discussing the matter with the trustees, President Moody concluded that the Spanish Summer School was not large enough, nor sufficiently self-supporting, to justify a visiting Director in addition to a resident Dean who would be necessary to take care of the continuing administration of the school during the other ten months. Reluctantly, Señor Moreno-Lacalle submitted his resignation. He and his wife and their family of six children moved to New Brunswick in August, and he became Head of the Spanish Department and School there.

The separation was amicable. President Moody facilitated the solution of some financial problems in the village. Lacalle's good will continued with the school, and nearly all the faculty returned the next summer, except the Martels, who were members of the family. Lacalle was successful at Rutgers, although the school there never became a rival of Middlebury. He died on June 17, 1945. The founder of the Middlebury Spanish School, a stimulating teacher and trainer of teachers, an administrator of great vigor and imagination, he contributed many features to the success and the uniqueness of the Middlebury Language Schools.

Chapter 3

THE BUILDERS

The French School

André Morize, 1925-1946

André Morize was the chief architect of the Middlebury Foreign Language Schools as graduate schools of university quality and an international reputation. With vision, skill, and tremendous energy, he developed the formula of Dr. Stroebe into a superb institution for the training of graduate students and teachers of foreign languages. More than Moreno-Lacalle, he insisted on balancing language competence with cultural education of real scholarly quality. He had the enthusiasm and personal magnetism of de Visme, together with an acute sense of tact, sound judgment and good organization. He was a distinguished scholar, a literary historian of the first rank, a brilliant lecturer, an exacting teacher, a devoted counselor and loyal friend to his host of students. Under his direction, the French Summer School became the model for all the Middlebury Schools, and was imitated by all other summer language schools.

He was born at Le Fleix in southern France in 1884. He attended the lycées in Toulouse and in Paris; and graduated from the École Normale Supérieure, agrégé des lettres, in 1907. He was a pupil and disciple of Gustave Lanson, whose method of scholarly documentation he supported throughout his career. He taught first in the lycée at Montauban, then at Bordeaux, and was called to Johns Hopkins University in 1913 as Associate Professor of French Literature. His specialization was the eighteenth century. He published *L'Apologie du Luxe au XVIII^e siècle et "Le Mondain" de Voltaire* in 1909; and in 1913 an edition of *Candide* with full critical introduction, notes, and interpretation. His *Problems and Methods of Literary History,* 1922, was the exposition of Lanson's method and a precious guide for the young researcher.

When World War I began in 1914, he returned to France for active service in an infantry regiment as sergeant, lieutenant, and captain; was twice wounded, and received the Croix de Guerre for bravery. In 1917, Harvard University asked for a contingent of French officers to instruct the ROTC unit. Two of those sent were André Morize and Jean Giraudoux. These handsome French officers in pale blue uniform made many feminine hearts in Cambridge flutter. When trench-warfare instruction was no longer needed, Harvard appointed him in 1918 Assistant Professor of French Literature. He remained at Harvard, as Associate Professor, then Professor until his retirement in 1951. He was Chairman of the Committee on Degrees in History and Literature from 1932-39, and held many other assignments at Harvard. He served for three years as president of the Société des Professeurs Français en Amérique. He was decorated Chevalier and later Commandeur of the Légion d'Honneur.

ANDRÉ MORIZE
Director of the French Summer School, 1925-1946

Nationally known as a brilliant lecturer on French literature and civilization, making scores of public appearances every year, often under the auspices of the Alliance Française, he was the unofficial cultural ambassador of France to the United States. His public lectures, like his classes, were a meticulously prepared combination of solid documentation, orderly structure, humanism, and contagious personal enthusiasm.

His reputation as a lecturer led President Moody to invite him to give the address at the laying of the cornerstone of the Château on July 14, 1924. The French ambassador, M. Jusserand, had been invited but could not accept. Avoiding the usual commonplaces of Franco-American friendship, Morize insisted upon the concept of progress and "the beginning of new efforts". He spoke of the Château as "a thing of beauty and also an extremely useful and practical thing. . . Thus the Middlebury French House will wholly fulfill its mission, that of being one of the most active and most brilliant French centers in the United States."

Less than a year later, he returned to give the dedicatory address at the inauguration of the Château. The ceremony was a part of the 125th Commencement of the college, on June 16, 1925. The honorary degree of Doctor of Letters had been conferred upon him that morning. In his address, Morize spoke eloquently of "this most beautiful French House in any American institution", a symbol of the contact of America with French ideas and ideals, a "beautiful, graceful French thing on American soil." Then addressing himself to the teachers of French who need to strengthen and replenish their spirit by a visit to France, but cannot, he said: "This is when . . . *the miracle of Middlebury* intervenes. . . . We bring France to you, right here, on soil already rich with splendid French memories . . . a French House, a French atmosphere, a French heart, a French life. Come, and speak French, and think in French, and play in French. . . . We bring France to you, with all the devotion and enthusiasm of our hearts; with love and hope, in an atmosphere of confidence and cooperation, let us work and learn."

Morize's wish for confidence and cooperation was heartfelt, since both his Château addresses were made in an atmosphere of tension. On January 15, 1925, Morize had consented to Moody's urgent plea, and had accepted the appointment as Director of the French Summer Session for 1926. He had been an unofficial adviser for Moody since 1924, and knew that the French School could be rehabilitated only by liquidating all the old turmoil and jealousies; and by starting afresh with a new team, both summer and winter. This was the only condition which he placed on his acceptance.

In the spring of 1925, at the request of President Moody, he made recommendations for the new French Department of the winter session. André Morize had been my mentor and friend during my graduate work at Harvard, and had directed my doctoral thesis on the "Theory of the Grotesque in Victor Hugo's *Préface de Cromwell*" with a firm hand and great generosity of time and interest. My Ph.D., completed in 1923, and two years of teaching at Brown University, were but scant preparation for a young man of 27 to assume the multitude of administrative duties which devolved upon me in accepting the appointment as Chairman of the French Department and Dean of the French School, in September 1925. Few college teachers have vaulted from cub instructor to full professor and chairman of a department in one precarious leap. It would have been impossible for me to do the job without the constant support and wise guidance of André Morize.

The new French Department was composed, besides myself, of two French men and an American woman. Albert Ranty, B.S., Teachers' College, Columbia, came from the Gloversville, N.Y. High School, a skillful and patient teacher of intermediate classes, beloved by generations of students for his modesty and unfailing good humor. He taught the French language classes both summer and winter, and earned his M.A. at Middlebury; a competent workman and dependable colleague, until his retirement with Mme Ranty to Exeter in 1946. His daughter Henriette graduated from Middlebury in the Class of 1929, and married Zenas Neumeister in a Middlebury romance.

The other man was Eugene Huet, licencié-ès-lettres from the Sorbonne. He remained in Middlebury for three years, going in 1928 to New Jersey College for Women. The first Directress of the Château was Miss Ethel Littlefield, A.B., Tufts, M.A., Radcliffe, and with good experience at Elmira College. With conscientious and earnest effort, she endeavored to define for the college and for the new French House a formula for its success. Responsibility for an aged father made it necessary for her to leave Middlebury after two years.

The Château opened quietly with the arrival of students in September 1925. It is still the finest French House in the country, the largest in continuous operation, the oldest but one, and the model of all others. The architecture of the outside is a close copy of the Pavillon Henri IV of the Palace of Fontainebleau. Inside, the architecture and furnishings are generally of the XVIIIth century. On the ground floor, the Grand Salon is used as the "common room" of the house, as a lounge for meetings and all the social gatherings—teas, musicales, amateur dramatics. The Petit Salon, with the fine crystal chandeliers, was for a time the private salon of the Directress. Now it has become the working library of the house, since the former library became the authentic Salon Louis XVI from the Hotel Crillon in the Place de la Concorde. Offices, seminar rooms, and two forty-place classrooms occupy the rest of the ground floor. The offices of the Dean of the French School were for many years at the right of the center door. The two upper floors have single and double rooms for about 45 students. The dining room of 70 places is in the basement.

An attractive bulletin was published in January 1926 on the French School and its Château, with pictures of the house and a statement of its program. The instruction insisted upon a thorough preparation in the French language, especially for an oral command, and then upon a wide acquaintance with classical and modern literature. Work in phonetics, civilization, and teaching methods also received attention. All courses were conducted exclusively in French, and were held in the Château. During the 1930's, enrollment in the French Department averaged about 275, over a third of the student body.

Life in the Château was planned to contribute as richly and as pleasantly as possible to the students' mastery of the language. The women residents of the Château signed a written pledge to speak French exclusively, even in their own rooms, with certain well-defined exceptions. Non-residents interested in French were welcomed to Cercle meetings and other activities. A few men took their meals regularly in the dining room. Mlle Léa Binand, Directress of the Château for 27 years, from 1929 to 1956, was particularly successful in making the "Chat" a place where the students would laugh in French, forgetting it was French; would pun in French; would even think in French and be at a loss for an English word; would even dream in French.

Besides the usual teas and meetings, every special holiday and season was an excuse for a party. October and late May saw picnics on Chipman Hill or at Lake Dunmore. Halloween had its late pajama-party (men excluded). Christmas carols in French were sung under the dorm windows or at the home of Prexy and of Dean Ross; fingers and toes were warmed while Mrs. Freeman distributed cookies or apples around the Freeman fireplace; then 25¢ presents accompanied by comic verses in French were handed out by Père Noël Freeman under a big fir tree in the Grand Salon. Mi-Carême (Mid-Lent) was the liveliest party of all. The dining room became a Montmartre café, with everyone in costume. The students put on a series of stunts, often burlesques of the faculty, culminating in a vigorous cancan. Following the program, Chef Freeman made crêpes in the Château kitchen; then a confetti battle exploded, and continued until everyone had barely enough energy left to break out the brooms and waste barrels, clean up the mess, re-set the tables for breakfast, and fall into bed at 1:00 a.m. Confetti was still to be seen in the corners for weeks afterward.

Faculty and students gave a play or two each year. The stage was the fireplace end of the Grand Salon. The first act of Jules Romain's *Dr. Knock* showed several members of the faculty riding across the salon in a hilarious replica of an aged auto made out of plywood and cardboard. In Courteline's *Le Commissaire est bon enfant,* a crazy man crowded the police chief into the sooty fireplace, and tossed his files out of the window into the snow, (to the horror

LE CHÂTEAU FRANÇAIS DE MIDDLEBURY
Built in 1925 in the style of the Pavillon Henri IV of the Château de Fontainebleau

of the Château office secretary who did not know that dummy folders had been substituted for her precious files.)

Planning for the summer session of 1926 began early. The first step was a clear definition of the division of responsibility between Morize as Director of the French Summer School, and myself as Dean of the French School, titles much confused previously. With characteristic precision and clarity, Morize outlined and I agreed in every detail to a sort of "charter" of duties. This formed the solid basis for twenty-one years of complete understanding and mutual trust, never once marred by the slightest friction. He was to have entire responsibility for the academic program of the school: the appointment of the faculty and the distribution of their salaries within the approved budget, the curriculum with its various courses and their content, all academic policies and requirements. He left entirely to me all the rest of the administration of the school: publicity, all correspondence with students, applications and admissions, the records of grades, requirements, degrees, class schedules, housing, feeding and all material arrangements. Mutual consultation was of course continuous, but each one knew where his authority began and stopped, and respected it.

This division of labor became the model of all the other schools which had a Summer Director and a resident Dean, as for example between Dr. Feise and Dr. Neuse, between Dr. García Lorca and Dean Guarnaccia, between Professors Guilloton and Boorsch and Dean Bourcier. The smaller schools have not needed two heads; sometimes one man has carried an excessive burden, as Dr. Centeno did and as Dr. Neuse did later. But when a school has an academic director who comes only in the summer, it is absolutely essential that there be a "dean" resident on the campus year-round, with full authority for the continuity of the material arrangements, for publicity, applications and admissions, for correspondence with students about degrees, requirements and records. This work must be done by someone at Middlebury; and a secretary, no matter how efficient, cannot do it with sufficient knowledge and authority.

Although Morize had insisted upon a new team in his reorganization of the school, he showed tact in his dealings with Julien Champenois of the Office National des Universités, by inviting back again as Visiting Professors, René Lalou who had been here in 1924, and Henri Servajean of 1925. Both were distinguished lycée professors, agrégés, authorities on French literature. They were accompanied by their wives, and a young Servajean boy and girl. It was made explicit to them that all the old quarrels were finished.

The rest of the faculty was new. Ranty and Huet of the winter faculty and their wives, and Ethel Littlefield were included, as Morize made it a policy to appoint members of the winter department if they wished. An important newcomer was Marcel Vigneron, Doctor of the University of Paris, M.A., Columbia; a notable war record; Assistant Professor at New York University. He had done some significant research in experimental phonetics in Paris; and was given charge of the progressive new phonetics section of the school. He proceeded immediately to organize a phonetics laboratory, at first for experiments in phonetics, and then for the practical application of the science of phonetics to the teaching of pronunciation. This was the pioneer in America of the "language laboratory."

A most important recruit was Ruth Muzzy Conniston, Bachelor of Music at Yale, one of the best pupils of Vierne (the organist of Notre Dame de Paris), concert organist, teacher of organ and voice in the University of California and Smith College, organist in New York City churches, and at that time the only woman carillon player in this country. She was specializing in the teaching of French songs, dances, and games in schools, culminating in 1929 in her book *Chantons un peu*. Her new course on this material, and on French clubs and dramatics became at once tremendously popular. Her musical and artistic talent, her charm, wit and spontaneity added immeasurably to the life of the school. She organized a large vested choir for the Sunday morning services; evenings of folk-singing, chamber music concerts. She gave organ recitals, and rang the afternoon chimes from Mead Chapel tower.

These qualities were not lost upon André Morize, who had been divorced some time before. On June 27, 1929, just before the opening of the session, they were married in Cambridge. At the opening meeting of the French School, Morize apologized for the loss of the popular teacher "Conny", but announced that he had saved her for the school as Mrs. Morize. The whole session enjoyed the exhilaration of a conspicuous newlywed couple on campus.

Henri Dombrowski, agrégé des lettres, professor at the Université de Montréal, was a popular and colorful figure. He had charge of all the courses in conversation and vocabulary. His out-going, boyish enthusiasm and fun-loving exuberance warmed away the timidity in many a pupil's halting speech. At picnics or informal sings, he was always in demand to lead the group in spirited marching songs and other lively, sometimes ribald ditties, especially the one entitled "Ma Femme est morte." His tragic death in World War II was a grievous loss to the school.

Morize moved slowly in changing the curriculum. The basic intermediate courses in grammar, composition, and vocabulary, so necessary for many poorly prepared teachers at that time, were continued, not counting for the Master's degree. The quality was stepped up. An hour of required general meeting was scheduled for all students in the conversation and vocabulary course, followed by an hour of intensive practice in small groups: two class hours daily without graduate credit. The significant new courses were Vigneron's Laboratory Phonetics and Ruth Conniston's French Songs and Clubs. The Methods course was now given by an experienced American teacher. There was about the same proportion of literature as before, at a rather more advanced level. Morize himself taught Stylistics and Explications de Textes.

Great attention was given to the social and historical background, and to other aspects of French civilization. In 1927 the Visiting Professors from France were Philippe Arbos, Professor of Geography at the Université de Clermont-Ferrand, a renowned geographer; and Robert Rey, a rising young art critic, Professor at the École du Louvre, and later Curator of the Luxembourg Museum. These two men accentuated the importance of geography and the fine arts in the civilization of France and consequently in the education of French teachers. The next summer, the "Visiting" Henri Gouhier, Docteur-ès-lettres and an important young philosopher, gave a course on the history of French thought, in its philosophical sources and its literary expression.

Among the new faces in these summers was Antony Constans, Croix de Guerre, Ph.D., Harvard, instructor at Yale, added as an assistant to Vigneron in phonetics. He served the French School with intelligence and devotion for nineteen years. Gaston Louis Malécot, Ph.D., University of Pittsburgh, a "grand blessé de guerre", Professor at Washington and Jefferson College, was an excellent specialist in phonetics. His health was frail as a result of his wounds, and he was unable to continue after 1933. His biography in the 1928 Bulletin was the occasion of my most appropriate typographical error: the printer had him "awarded the Military Metal"! His son André Malécot later became the head of our summer phonetics program.

The importance of thorough and realistic coaching in teaching techniques was underlined by the appointment of Miss Louise Gambrill, A.M. Wellesley, and head of French in the Brookline Mass. schools, in charge of the section on Professional Training. Elliott M. Grant, Ph.D., Harvard, Associate Professor at Smith College, taught the Literature of the Middle Ages and Old French Linguistics.

A touching example of Morize's determination to heal old wounds was his appointment of Mme Alice Williamson de Visme beginning in the summer of 1928. M. de Visme had died in June 1927. Mme de Visme accepted, with what emotions one may guess, the invitation of Morize and Moody to return to the Middlebury summer faculty. She had replaced her husband as Head of the French Department at the New Jersey College for Women. Without degrees, but with the high intelligence and culture of an aristocratic French family, she was an excellent teacher of Explications de Textes, gentle but firm, persuasive, a great encouragement to the weaker students. She was regularly the hostess at the Château, and her Sunday after-dinner coffee hours created an atmosphere of

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French social grace. She returned every summer until her retirement in 1944. After that, she assisted for several summers at the École Champlain, coming down regularly to visit all her old friends in Middlebury. She died in December 1968.

Other long-time pillars of the faculty were added in those early years. Pierre Thomas, graduate engineer of the top Paris engineering school, turned his back on a lucrative career in industry to become a teacher of French. He was a graduate assistant in our French Department in the winter of 1926-27, and joined the summer staff in 1927. His quiet manner and imaginative approach, together with his amusing illustrations at the blackboard, made him both popular and effective in the big course in Conversation and Vocabulary. The memory of those Conversation groups is dear to thousands of students. He wrote a *Manual* which, distributed by Middlebury, has been used all over the United States. He retired in 1959.

Marc Denkinger, educated in Geneva, Ph.D. Harvard, came to the faculty in 1928; and almost continuously until 1965 he gave scholarly instruction in French classical literature, especially in the theatre. He was an authority on stage production. A skillful artist, he painted canvasses, backdrops and flats for the school's plays, as many as four in a session. He loved to play comic rôles also; a big man with a big voice, and versatile in make-up, he delighted the audiences year after year. He was one of the hardest workers on the staff.

Jean Boorsch, later to become Director of the School, joined the staff for the first time in 1930, following his appointment in 1929 to the winter French Department. His specialization was the literature of the XVIIth century.

Two women who came to the faculty in 1928 have posted the record for the longest service in the French School, since they were still on full active duty in the summer of 1971. Mme Marguerite Fourel, head of French at Beaver Country Day School near Boston, has been an effective teacher of grammar. Mme Renée Perrot-Orangers, an experienced teacher in several private schools, has prodded and cajoled thousands of hesitant students into expressing themselves better in French. A graduate dress-maker also, she has been invaluable in costuming the dramatic performances.

It is difficult not to name more of the many skillful teachers and interesting personalities of those years. The elderly Mlle Berthe des Combes Favard, who gave herself the airs of a countess with a roguish twinkle in her eye, had been one of de Visme's staff in 1921. Mlle Léa Binand later became the winter Directress of the Château. Mlle Lucie Bernot, head of French at Miss Chapin's School, New York, assisted Morize in Stylistics and Advanced Composition. Miss Anita Ford, daughter of the famous Professor J. D. M. Ford of Harvard, a brilliant teacher and a charming person, completely bi-lingual, married student Hugh Packard in one of the many Middlebury romances, and died still young, mourned by us all. Her coming to Middlebury signified that her father, who had for a time held conservative doubts about the Middlebury "experiment" and Morize's connection with it, was at last convinced.

With these and many other carefully selected associates, André Morize reconstructed the French Summer School. He knew that this unique kind of school depends for success on the highest quality of instruction, and upon unique people willing to give it their entire enthusiastic attention. He chose college and university professors from the United States and abroad, unquestioned authorities in their field; or experienced and skillful secondary school teachers for specific tasks. He asked them not only to teach classes, ten and sometimes fifteen hours a week; he asked them to preside over conversation at meals, to counsel with students in the afternoon, to be available in the dormitory, to participate in picnics, dramatics, sings, excursions; in short, to be on duty sixteen hours a day. With extraordinary loyalty, this team that he gathered about him did all of that.

And the School was a success. From the figure of 190 in 1926, the enrollment had risen by 1929 to 306, the maximum capacity of the facilities available on campus. There were 32 members of the teaching faculty. The Spanish School numbered 97 students; the Chemistry School 33. Miss Hayden's Music School had been momentarily successful, with an enrollment reaching 36 in 1923, but it had waned again; and after dropping to fifteen in 1925, the trustees discontinued it. There were therefore only the three schools on campus in 1929. Then the Chemistry School was discontinued after 1930 when the enrollment dropped to 30.

Morize divided his curriculum into groups by subject matter: Language (Stylistics, Grammar, Composition); Phonetics, on four levels with the experimental course at the top; Methods and Professional Training; Literature and Civilization; Oral Practice (including Diction, and Vocabulary). Each group was supervised and coordinated by an authority in that field. Each group had several graded levels. Students were interviewed at registration, personally advised by the one in charge of each group; then placement tests were given in the first days to check the accuracy of placement. In Professional Training, one course was designed for beginning teachers; another for experienced teachers.

The work in Oral Practice received much attention. Most students in their first summer took the two-hour non-credit course in Conversation and Vocabulary, to gain fluency and confidence. The more advanced courses called for oral reports on specialized topics, ten-minute debates and discussions, book reports. Even in the literature and civilization courses, Morize had a horror of the "lecture method." One year, in planning the big civilization course, he wrote me: "I want to get [the professor] to understand that there *must* be *practical* work in that course. Neither of the former teachers pleased me in that respect. Students have been 100% *passive,* the boys lecturing like Sorbonne professors. This has got to stop. Students must *write* and *talk talk talk*. I want him . . . to prepare questionnaires and topics for discussion, require frequent short written and oral statements, etc."

Gradually but noticeably the level of student preparation improved, and the courses in literature and civilization became more specialized and more demanding. The general surveys became period or genre courses: XIXth century poetry, the contemporary novel, Renaissance literature and life. The creation of the new degree of D.M.L. gave great impetus to the heightening of quality. The thirty active candidates and many other post-Masters students found here the scholarly instruction associated with the best universities, but given in French, in the summer, in a typically French atmosphere. Not only literature, but history, linguistics, experimental phonetics, and comparative literature answered the

THE COLLEGE PLAYHOUSE, ON WEYBRIDGE ST.
Center of all dramatics activities until it burned in 1953

wide-ranging interests of these advanced students. Many of them, like Blanchard Rideout, Roland Doane, William Felt, Gordon Ringgold, Sara Woodruff, Ruth Bunker, Ruth Cann, Mary Noss, Joseph Sasserno, soon became well-known college and university teachers and administrators in their own right.

As the school attracted more advanced students, Morize added another service that was much appreciated: individual assistance in special projects. Students doing research during the winter were given guidance on bibliography, sources of information, contacts, pitfalls to avoid, often based on Morize's *Problems and Methods of Literary History*. Many were the students who came to Middlebury wondering if they should have spent the summer working up a new course, and who left at the end of the session with course outlines, reading assignments, bibliographical material, even a scheme of lectures, all ready for the mimeograph, after several hours of private conference with Morize. As the demand for this sort of help grew apace, Morize called upon members of his faculty to take over some of the burden that often occupied entire afternoons.

The quality of the curriculum and the new type of student soon brought about a change in the attitude of the "Ivy" universities. It was natural enough at the beginning that they should be skeptical of this new "experiment in the backwoods", useful perhaps for high school teachers but not of university calibre. Morize of Harvard felt this disdain keenly. The changing attitude became gradually evident in many ways. Professor Ford's daughter became a regular faculty member. Professor Charles Hall Grandgent of Harvard, famous Dante scholar and linguist, lectured here. The Harvard School of Education agreed to count a summer at Middlebury as one of the four summers of required study in the language to be taught. Abbott Lawrence Lowell accepted an honorary degree from Middlebury in June 1934, a year after his retirement from the presidency of Harvard.

"I never worked so hard and played so hard in my life" was the common judgment of students at the end of six weeks at the French School. Morize consciously developed an atmosphere of intense participation, a "joie de vivre" which he knew was the best way to overcome the diffidence of the tongue-tied student. At the same time, he was ruthless in enforcing the sacred pledge of "no English." There was something doing every evening, except Monday, from 7:00 to 8:00. On Sunday evenings there was general singing, using Mme Morize's *Chantons un peu,* then a concert of chamber music by the resident trio of the school—Georges Fourel, violinist, and Yves Chardon, cellist, both of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, and a pianist, sometimes Howard Hinners of Smith College. Radiana Pazmor was for some time the soloist. These concerts, of high professional quality, were well attended by townspeople.

Tuesday and Thursday evenings had a lecture series by the Visiting Professor. Fridays there was general dancing in the McCullough Gymnasium. The Annual Masquerade Ball was shared with the Spanish School. Students and faculty showed marvelous imagination in creating original costumes out of minimum resources, usually representing some literary or historical theme. My greatest triumph came the first summer, 1926, when with the help of Ruth Conniston, her dress, accessories and makeup, and a big blonde wig, I posed as a flirtatious Spanish belle. No one recognized me; Dean Lacalle did his best to make a conquest; Morize, a pirate, egged him on by pretending to be a rival.

Nearly every week the faculty gave a play, at first in the old Playhouse on Weybridge St., and later in McCullough Gymnasium. Students took bit parts, but it was thought unwise to let them take too much time from their studies, so the faculty carried the major rôles. One-act comedies were the favorites, to show the students how they could easily stage the same ones in their own schools.

THE MEDIEVAL "FARCE DE MAÎTRE MIMIN"
The players: MM. Thomas, Constans, Denkinger, Chapard; Mlles Ford, Ranty

Later, more ambitious modern plays were given; and one of Molière's classics in full costume became the accepted dramatic finale of the summer.

Picnics and excursions were popular for Saturday afternoons. The grounds on Chipman Hill were progressively improved by the town; and the first general picnic of the summer was held there, with folk dances, tug-of-war, and much singing, led by Dombrowski. A week or two later, the school usually went to Waterhouse's Pavilion on Lake Dunmore. Since few of the students had cars then, we hired busses or trucks. Pierre Thomas superintended the boating and received the title of "Admiral of the Middlebury Navy."

The faculty also had good times together. Close-knit in admiring loyalty to Morize, its social life centered in the "Caveau" which was installed first in the east end of Hillcrest, and later in the basement of Forest. Facilities for a snack between classes were welcomed; and since none of the faculty had offices, the Caveau was the official bulletin board and mail room. Occasional outings were enjoyed on Saturday afternoons; a favorite spot was Halpin's Falls, now generally unknown and neglected. Although Morize worked his faculty hard, he encouraged them to take a break in the late afternoon. A group often went to the "Moosalamoo Lodge" of Mrs. Bentley at the northwest corner of Lake Dunmore, for a quiet swim and sunbath together, and a half-hour of relaxation. In these and many other ways, Morize kept his finger on the pulse of his school.

The Chapel Service on Sunday mornings at 11:00 in Mead Chapel became another highlight of the extracurricular program. Morize, the son of a Huguenot pastor in Dordogne, fashioned the service skillfully as a reverent occasion, but non-sectarian. The hymns were taken from the French Protestant hymnal, and the Bible readings were from the Segond (Protestant) translation; the anthems sung by the choir were usually from the great Catholic tradition. The chimes in the tower called the school together. The selections which Morize read, always in French of course, from the great philosophers and thinkers of all nations, made an inspiring hour, and a good French lesson besides. Mme Morize's vested choir became a popular activity. Two rehearsals a week brought amazing results. Many townspeople and visitors, even knowing no French, came to enjoy the excellent music.

The French School in the summers of 1927-29 occupied most of the campus. The Spanish School had Hepburn Hall. The Chemistry students lived in town. French students lived in Le Château, Battell Cottage (now Adirondack), Pearsons, Hillcrest, Hillside, Painter, Starr, and Weybridge House. There were three dining halls: Le Château, Battell Cottage and Hillcrest Annex. General meetings of the school were held first in Pearsons Lounge or the Château salon; then as the school grew, they were moved to the old Playhouse on Weybridge Street, formerly the Catholic Church. Classes were held in the Château, Recitation Hall, the old Music Studio, and Warner Science Hall. Morize's office was in Hillcrest. My office remained in the Château all year. Registration of students at the opening of the session took place for a long time in Old Chapel, in the President's Office, adjoining the Summer Session Office of Mrs. Pamelia Powell, Secretary, for greater efficiency. President Moody moved out for those few days, but returned to welcome the combined session on the first Sunday afternoon at 5:00. President Moody awarded the M.A. diplomas, at first separately, but after

"Henry Spaulding" [illegible] Anglais [illegible]
André Morize [illegible] on the [illegible]

1928, as the [illegible] School [illegible] on the last Moody [illegible]

President Moody had assumed the title of Director of the Summer Session after the resignation of Dr. Edward Collins in March, [illegible]. The Spanish, German, [illegible] Music School [illegible] and the English School at Bread Loaf, were [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and financial [illegible]. It is not surprising that in December, 1929, after the close of the session of French summer school, Moody wrote Morize that he was looking for [illegible] him with the [illegible] and [illegible] Morize [illegible] Assistant Director. He [illegible] that he would [illegible] French School [illegible] Director. It was evident that [illegible] over the other schools and [illegible] Morize [illegible]. My appointment [illegible] the [illegible] continued until 1944, when both the title of Director and Associate Director of the Summer Session were abolished. [illegible] separation of the [illegible] Schools was pursued, with the Deans [illegible] Directors reporting directly to President Moody.

During the four years [illegible], I worked [illegible] with the head of the Spanish School, with [illegible] responsibility for the [illegible] Schools, and [illegible] for the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] of the schools. President Moody kept [illegible] matters largely to himself.

A typical example of my responsibilities [illegible] occurred on July 17-19, 1927, when all the water for the [illegible] campus was shut off for over

48 hours. Early Sunday morning, the man in charge of the water level in Chipman Hill reservoir neglected it, and a lot of mud and sediment was sucked into the town water mains, plugging them. Then some idiot turned on full pressure from Bristol Notch, which instead of clearing the mains, burst them. A score of boilers and water fronts in town burst. Then the pressure dropped so low that no water reached the college hill. With over 400 people on campus, no faucets, kitchens, or toilets could function, to say nothing of the fire danger. Students tried to hold cups under a dribbling hydrant, but we had to forbid even that, because of the sediment that had been drawn in. Yet no one in town was doing anything constructive about the college problem. By noon Monday, my wrath was up. I went first to Mr. John Fletcher, the college treasurer, then with his backing to "Charlie" Rich, head of the town selectmen. I said that I would have to close the summer schools, send the students home with complete refunds, and sue the town for damages, if we didn't get action immediately. We got it; the creameries in town that were consuming great quantities of water were shut down during the day, the mains repaired and reservoir intakes cleaned. By Tuesday noon, the situation was nearly back to normal.

As the pressure of applications increased, a delicate decision was made to give priority to teachers and candidates for degrees. This policy made it necessary to begin refusing a score or more of elderly ladies who had been coming to the school since de Visme's time. Most of them were intelligent, well educated, and had an adequate knowledge of French. But their aim was to spend six weeks in a lovely setting, at very economical rates, with the "fringe benefit" of lectures, concerts, and a French atmosphere. Some of them attended courses regularly; few took examinations. Most of them had disappeared by 1931. Outstanding exceptions were Miss Edith Packer, amateur photographer of the school, whose albums are now a treasure; and Mrs. Stella Christie, a real benefactor of the school. Both attended courses regularly and took final examinations. The honorary degree of M.A. was conferred on "tante" Christie in 1950. By 1930, 95% of the students were seeking training for a definite professional objective. Nearly a hundred applicants were refused for lack of space.

The very success of the French School, in size and in quality, gave rise to the most difficult problem of the first decade, the formulation of a policy on the budget. Previous to Morize's time, each school head had to secure the consent of the Director of the Summer Session on the hiring and the salary of each individual member of his staff. President Moody allowed more liberty to Morize, Lacalle, and Davison, but still wanted to be consulted on any additions to the faculty or changes in salary. Since the French enrollments had risen to 306, a very large increase in faculty was necessary, and the university professors that Morize recruited had to be paid according to their rank. At the same time, the declining Spanish School and the young English School were operating at a deficit. Moody was lenient, but J. J. Fritz, who had been named Business Manager in 1925 and Treasurer in 1930, determined to make the Summer Session self-supporting, including a fixed charge for rent and overhead. He considered it a single account, and put pressure on Moody, and through him on Morize and me, to make enough profit in French to cover the deficits in the other schools.

Morize, who believed correctly that it was quality that had brought success to the French School, reacted strongly. On Feb. 17, 1930, after several exchanges with the administration, he wrote me: "I'm getting fed up. . . . You and I can and must consider only the French School budget. If the Spanish and English Schools want to spend more than they earn, that's up to them. But I *refuse absolutely* to consider the French School as an enterprise intended to fill up the holes dug by others. If they get too insistent about it, I'll leave the helm to someone else. . . . If they want to go back to the old system of hiring young girls of twenty, without degrees or knowledge, to teach mature and experienced professors, and pay them $150, all right.—But count me out."

After considerable negotiation, a general accord was reached in August which gave each school director complete authority to hire his staff within the limits of a salary budget approved in advance, and based upon the estimated enrollment for the summer. Morize's firm position had the desired result. In 1932, even with a slight decrease in enrollment to 288, his staff expenses stayed within the budget by a margin of $340. The total operation of the French School showed a net profit of $5500, after assessed charges for rent and overhead, while all the other schools ran a considerable deficit.

The basic difficulty was that Moody and Fritz each considered himself Business Manager of the Summer Session, and no clear demarcation of authority had been laid down. For example, Moody wrote Morize that his salary was increased by $500, and Morize expressed his gratitude; but later discovered that his faculty salary budget was not to be raised by that amount. This meant to him simply that he could pay himself $500 more if he could pay his faculty that much less. He refused. Fritz's office was in the Battell Block downtown. Between his office and that of President Moody and Mrs. Pamelia Powell, Secretary of the Summer Session, there was insufficient communication and cooperation. Fritz was struggling with the enormous problems of the financial depression, closed banks, disappearing investment income; and was in no mood for the details of the summer operation.

The confusion reached the point that after many cordial but inconclusive sessions with Moody, I went with his encouragement to talk with Mr. Redfield Proctor, then chairman of the Trustee Committee on the Summer Schools, newly created in 1931. I found him responsive, wise, and firm; with an immediate understanding of and sympathy with the academic aims of the Language Schools. Throughout the next year, conversations continued with Moody and the new Trustee Committee.

As a result, the trustees reinstated the title of Director of the Summer Session, and restored to President Moody, as Director, full authority over the budget, and over the financial as well as the academic policies of the schools. The instruction budget was separated from the dormitory and dining room budgets. The heads of the schools were asked to submit detailed budgets for all expenditures except dormitory and dining halls; and when these budgets were approved by Moody and the trustees, the heads were free to spend them without outside intervention. Morize was promised that if he had a surplus in his tuition income over academic costs in any summer, the surplus could be kept for his use the next summer. There was also much discussion of creating a reserve fund or an endowment out of the surplus, if any, in the *total* summer operation, to be used for important new equipment, scholarships, or in case of an unforeseen deficit, rather than seeing it disappear in the general college accounts. The matter had its importance, since the French School in 1936 showed a profit of $10,274 on dormitories and $4,952 on dining halls (although students complained the food was mediocre). No endowment was ever implemented, and the reserve fund was continued only briefly.

The most valuable gain from these discussions was that all the trustees, especially the new Committee, came to a much clearer realization of the value of the Language Schools to the college, their high quality, and the contribution they were making to the prestige of the college. They discovered that the students of the Summer Schools, high school teachers during the winter, were among the most effective recruiting agents for the college admissions office. They recognized that the success or failure of a school was not measured by the financial balance sheet. Dr. Albert Mead, in 1934 the new chairman of the Trustee Committee, spoke forcefully of his conviction that all five schools were integral parts of the college and its reputation. He urged that it should not be necessary to keep a separate balance sheet for each school, any more than it does for any winter department. Ironically, Dr. Mead, as Acting President of Brown University in 1925, had done his best to keep me there; and now we worked together here with mutual satisfaction to straighten out Language Schools' tangles.

It was well that the financial policies of the schools were settled, for some lean years were beginning. The "great depression" of 1930-32 could not fail to have its effect upon colleges and summer schools. Middlebury had to cut the salaries of its winter faculty by 15%, and all possible economies were made. Summer school enrollments around the country fell drastically. It is surprising that the Middlebury schools did not suffer more than they did; for the French enrollment dropped only about 20%, from 306 in 1929, to 240 in 1933, then rebounded to 304 in 1934. Great courage and faith characterized the reopening of the German School in 1931 with 43 students; and the opening of the Italian School in 1932 with 22 students. Their enrollment justified this faith, showing 38 in each school in 1933 and over 50 in 1934. The Spanish School suffered most, dropping from 97 in Lacalle's last summer of 1929, to 39 in 1933, and rising only to 52 in 1934. The schools' rebound in 1934 was probably due to several reasons: intensive publicity during the winter, the improved economic situation for teachers' salaries, and the decline of the dollar in international exchange making foreign travel more expensive.

Another aspect of these lean years warrants attention because the Middlebury Language Schools became one of the storm centers of a great controversy. In 1924, the Modern Foreign Language Study, supported by a grant from the Carnegie Foundation, was organized to make a general inquiry into the teaching and learning of foreign languages in the United States. Seventeen major publications resulted, of which the central volume was by Professor Algernon Coleman of Chicago. It became known as the "Coleman Report." It stated that oral competence could not be acquired in the two years of study to which 87% of high school students limited themselves, and that the only realistic objective was reading ability. It recommended that large doses of reading, for approximate comprehension, without translation, should occupy most of a student's attention. As a result of the Study, the "reading method" was adopted in most of the nation's schools, with many new textbooks designed for the purpose.

A minority of leading language teachers reacted sharply against the "Coleman Report", terming it defeatist since it accepted two years as the normal length of language study, self-defeating because it eliminated the strong psychological motivation of oral communication, and erroneous because it *is* possible to teach the oral skills under controlled conditions even in two years. Middlebury became one of the centers of resistance to the "reading method." Middlebury maintained that insistence upon the spoken language is pedagogically more rewarding to the pupil, and it trained teachers first in oral mastery for themselves, and then in the best techniques for securing oral competence in their pupils. Although the general adoption of the "reading method" hurt the Middlebury schools during the 1930's, Middlebury's reputation as the standard bearer of the "oral method" was ultimately enhanced. The pendulum swung far in our favor after 1945.

Enrollments and finances were not the only problems faced by the French School. Dormitory and dining room space was, except in 1933, quite inadequate. Houses in the village like the Jewett-Wilcox House and the Music House were added to the major campus dormitories. Hepburn was at first reserved for the Spanish School, but later, French students were quartered on the fifth floor. The Italian School used the DKE and DU fraternities. Thirty-five or more French students had to live in town. The three dining halls, Château, old Battell Cottage, and Hillcrest Annex, had a total capacity of 280. This insufficient space compelled the rejection of some 75 acceptable applicants in 1931. The use of scattered small houses on campus and in the village militated against the concentration and cohesion of the school, vital factors in the creation of a French atmosphere and the encouragement of good practice in speaking the language.

Even these meager facilities were not kept in good condition at first. Many complaints from the mature women school teachers, echoed by Morize in his reports, spoke of bare dormitory rooms that had been used, and abused, by undergraduate men; no rugs or curtains, sometimes even no window shades; a dresser, scarred table and a straight chair; a light bulb dangling from the ceiling; noisy corridors with no mats; toilets that worked erratically or ran all night; showers in Starr and Painter with bare cement floors and no curtains; faulty window screens that admitted mosquitoes and even bats; inadequate fire prevention devices, or fire escapes blocked by screens or ivy. All this was especially galling when the treasurer was continually increasing the "rental charge", to cancel out any show of operating profit.

Competition from other summer schools was increasing rapidly. The Middlebury idea caught on fast. The Penn State Institute, after a decline following the departure of de Visme, was revived by the effective work of Professor Ernst. McGill University opened in 1930 a fine new dormitory for 200 women for its French Summer School. Western Reserve in Cleveland began a French School under Dr. de Sauzé with excellent modern buildings. The University of Chicago began developing the equipment of its French Center. A little later, Mills College in California wrote to me, asking full information and advice about starting a West Coast French Summer School attached to their music and arts programs.

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Here was a worthy disciple, but also a competitor, since we had a number of students from the far west. To meet these rivalries we increased our publicity efforts, with some success, but the shabbiness of our physical facilities remained an obstacle. A typical letter from one student to a chum read: the teaching at Middlebury is excellent, but . . . "never go there as long as they want to give you a room in Painter Hall, which is simply disgusting."

Forest Hall was built in 1936, and Painter was completely remodeled the same year. From then on, the pressure was relieved and facilities were improved. Morize's office and the "Caveau" Faculty Club moved from Hillcrest to East Forest. The dining hall problem was solved with the opening of the two fine dining rooms in Forest. The school's general meetings, as well as plays and concerts, formerly in the old Playhouse with a capacity of 275, were moved in 1935 to McCullough Gymnasium. Movable flats or partitions were constructed on the stage to improve the acoustics, and the windows were screened. Such remained the physical plant of the French School for the next decade.

Having gathered about him a more or less permanent faculty of dedicated and enthusiastic teachers, nearly all native French but with experience in American schools, Morize realized the need of bringing a number of "visiting" professors directly from France each summer, to insure a truly fresh French atmosphere. He explained in his 1936 Report how a professor with long experience in this country, valuable in many respects, is to a certain degree "Americanized", thinks and speaks "less French", adapts his ideas and speech to his pupils. Morize emphasized therefore the importance of bringing a half-dozen people—professors and fellowship holders—directly from France, in order "to give our school a good breath of fresh French atmosphere, speak French as it is spoken among French people, and be themselves among Americans." Among our competitors, Middlebury was known as the most *French* of them all, the equal of the Sorbonne as a real French milieu.

To maintain this reputation, Morize brought from France a succession of brilliant teachers, specialists in different areas in order to vary the curriculum. We have already noted the names of the geographer Philippe Arbos, the art critic Robert Rey, and the philosopher Henri Gouhier. Robert Rey came back for the summer of 1930. Jean-Marie Carré, young professor of comparative literature, then at the Université de Lyon, came in 1929. During the next decade, the Visiting Professors represented a wide range of French culture and letters, some of them young and later more famous, others with the prestige and dignity of a recognized career: Daniel Mornet, distinguished lecturer on the XVIIIth century and our first professor from the Sorbonne; Raoul Blanchard, famous geographer from the Université de Grenoble; André Coeuroy, music critic and editor-in-chief of *La Revue Musicale;* André Mayer, scientist of the foremost rank, professor of biology, Vice-President of the Collège de France (and father of Jean Mayer, now nutrition expert at Harvard); René Jasinski, specialist in XIXth century literature at the Sorbonne; Madame B. Dussane, renowned actress, lecturer, author, member of the Comédie Française.

Madame Dussane was so successful both as a teacher and dramatic artist in 1938 that she was invited to return in 1940 and 1941, but the war prevented. Replacing her was Pierre de Lanux, journalist, radio commentator on C.B.S.,

FRENCH SCHOOL FACULTY, SUMMER OF 1932
Front row, l-r, Mme de Visme, Mlle Favard, Mlle Pernot, Mme Morize, M. Morize, Mr Freeman, M. Ascoli, Mlle Bernot, Miss O'Brien

Director of the French Information Center in this country. His vast store of information was particularly helpful during the war. He was Visiting Professor in the summers of 1939 and 1940. In the summer Commencement of August 1942, I had the pleasure as Acting President of conferring the honorary degree of Litt.D. upon Andre Mayer, and the L.H.D. upon Pierre de Lanux. The latter accepted our appointment as Associate Professor of Political Science in the College, and taught here from 1942 to 1945.

Tragic memories remain from the visits of Georges Ascoli, Professor at the Sorbonne, specialist on Victor Hugo. He came to Middlebury in 1932, and both his high scholarship and his modest friendly personality so delighted everyone that he was invited back in 1933 and again in 1937. Middlebury gave him the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters in 1937. In February 1942, he and his wife were arrested in Paris by the Gestapo, and perished in the gas chambers of Auschwitz. His son Marcel, who was with him in Middlebury as a lad of 16, continued his Middlebury contacts until his death.

With the assistance of some of these men at the Sorbonne, and of Morize, I was able to arrange personally with M. Henri Goy, Director of the Cours d'Eté at the Sorbonne, an official and direct liaison between his courses and Middlebury. As announced in the 1931 Bulletin, this assured the personal attention of M. Goy to the study plans of Middlebury students, their proper placement, and the acceptance of approved work by Middlebury.

Many other successful and beloved teachers should be named here, but we have space for only a few. Vincent Guilloton and his wife Madeleine of Smith College joined the faculty in 1932, and came nearly every summer thereafter.

Guilloton was made Assistant Director in 1935, and from then on during the summer he assisted Morize in the heavy burden of consultations and supervision. He was Acting Director in Morize's absence in 1937, 1940, 1944, 1945 and became Director upon Morize's retirement after 1946.

Claude Bourcier came to us in 1936 from the University of Maine, and after a year of military service, was appointed to the French Department of the College. He was regularly on the summer faculty from 1938, served as Acting Dean in 1945, and became my successor as year-round Dean of the French School in 1946. Maurice Coindreau of Princeton University, one of our most scholarly teachers and prolific writers, specializing in the contemporary American novel, was a member of our faculty almost continuously from 1938 until 1962. Mlle Germaine Brée was teaching at Bryn Mawr when she joined our faculty in 1937. She came regularly for many summers, except for a distinguished service in the French Army during the war. She took charge of our Graduate School in France during the second semester of its first year, 1949-50. She has had a brilliant career at New York University and Wisconsin; and returned to us as Special Lecturer in 1968. She gave the oration and received the honorary degree of LL.D. at our 1965 Anniversary Commencement.

Louis Joxe, then a young journalist, head of the foreign news section of the Agence Havas, and with rich experience in the commissions of the League of Nations, came to Middlebury in 1938, and gave a course on Contemporary France. He agreed to return in 1939, but the war prevented. He had a spectacular career in France: Ambassador to Russia, Chef de Cabinet of the French Government, Minister of State, chief architect of the Algerian settlement. He returned to Middlebury in August 1965, having never lost his interest in our work; participated in the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Language Schools, and received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

Mlle Nicolette Pernot took charge of the work in phonetics in 1932, and carried on with great effectiveness the laboratory and practical work in phonetics and pronunciation after the death of Marcel Vigneron. She had been "attachée" at the Institut de Phonétique in Paris, then came to Wellesley College. At Middlebury she met Gordon Ringgold; they were married and taught many years at William and Mary College. Mme Léontine Moussu, also from the Institut de Phonétique, came in 1934, and except for the war years, returned faithfully every summer to teach diction, until her death in 1962. Mlle Maud Rey, another of the beloved "old guard", came to us from Bryn Mawr in 1935, and taught diction and other courses until her retirement in 1956. She had studied for the theatre with Jacques Copeau, was an accomplished actress, and often starred in our plays.

Space would fail me to pay tribute to the many faithful members of that team: Antony Constans, Jacqueline Bertrand, Anaïk LeJolly and Marion Tamin, who devoted many hours to the phonetics laboratory; M. Pargment, Lucie Gall-Bernot and Pierre Chamaillard, who taught grammar; Albert Schinz, Madeleine Leliepvre, Andrée Bruel, who carried much of the steady burden of literature courses. Much praise goes to the section of Methods and Professional Training. In 1929 Miss Kathryn O'Brien of the Brookline, Mass. schools succeeded Miss Gambrill in charge. She was aided by Miss Stella LaFrance, and by Miss Louise Crandall who specialized in realia and French Club activities. They arranged demonstration classes of youngsters from the village, exhibits, and many special materials to illustrate the oral approach to language learning. They were supported by special appointments, at various times, of well-known names in language pedagogy: William B. Snow, James B. Tharp, Russell Jameson, Henry Grattan Doyle, Edmond Méras, Herbert Myron, and others.

We are proud too of the "errand boys", aides and assistants who did all sorts of humble chores. They were chosen from among our best students, at Harvard and here. The job became an apprenticeship which their ability turned into a stepping-stone to a distinguished career. As examples we remember William N. Locke, Librarian of Mass. Institute of Technology; Edward Sullivan, Dean at Princeton and Chairman of the Language Dept.; Professor Herbert Myron of Boston University; Zenas Neumeister who married Henriette Ranty and taught at Exeter; Stanley Sprague, Wallace Green, Charles English, Edward Harvey, to name only a few.

Morize's son René is remembered with special affection among these aides. He graduated from Middlebury College in the Class of 1932, having found here the intellectual stimulus he sought. He had a successful business career in France, became a leader of the Middlebury alumni in Paris; and was preparing to return to attend his 35th reunion when death suddenly took him.

How the French School begat the Italian School in 1932, and some of the birth pangs, will be described in Chapter 3. This is perhaps the place to recount the brief but glorious existence of another child, the Music Center, 1938-1940. Morize was very fond of music, and his wife Ruth Conniston Morize, affectionately known as "Conny", was an accomplished organist, and one of this country's first "carillonneuses." Excellent chamber music concerts and organ recitals became the standard program of the Sunday morning and evening meetings.

As early as 1929 a regular staff of musicians remained in residence at the school all summer. It usually consisted of a pianist, violinist, cellist, and soloist. During the early 1930's, these were Mme Morize, Georges Fourel, violinist, and Yves Chardon, cellist, both of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, and Miss Radiana Pazmor, soloist. After 1935, Paul Fedorovsky of the Boston Symphony replaced Georges Fourel; and his wife Olga Averino became the soloist. The concerts were enthusiastically received, not only by the students of the French School, but by the other schools on campus and by the general public of the village. Occasional concerts were also given by this group at Bread Loaf, and Madame Morize lectured there.

It seemed logical to put this professional music staff to even greater service. Students were asking permission to arrange for private lessons. In 1938, therefore, Ruth Morize was authorized to organize this group of musicians into a Middlebury Music Center, with separate identity. Madame Morize became the Director. She was at that time teaching organ at the New England Conservatory of Music and lecturing at Simmons. A separate bulletin was published. The faculty consisted of Clair Leonard of Vassar and Walter Piston of Harvard, teachers of music and composers; Mme Olga Averino, soprano soloist; Frederic Tillotson and Mme Colette Lionne of the Longy School, and Joaquín Nin-Culmell, pianists; Paul Fedorovsky, violinist; Georges Fourel, viola; Alfred Zighera, cellist; and Miss Lota Curtiss, assistant organist and carillonneuse. Twenty-six students enrolled, living in the D. U. House or in the village.

Courses were offered in a wide range of theoretical music, harmony, counterpoint; and in applied music, both instrumental and vocal. Tuition was $215 or more, depending on the room. There was full reciprocity with the Language Schools; students had full auditing privileges, or could enroll in a language course for an extra fee. Many studied a language for its diction for singers, or for music history. Students in the Language Schools could take work in the Music Center. Supplementary private lessons could be arranged, for a fee, with any member of the staff. Practice pianos, organs, and studios were available in the Music Studio or the Chapel. Publicity and reservations for the Center were handled by my office in the Château. Final examinations were given; an official transcript of the College was issued for theory courses; a certificate for the courses in applied music.

The new venture was entirely successful. The Center reopened in the summer of 1939 with an enrollment of 41. New staff members were Horace Britt, a well-known orchestra leader; Henri Deering, teacher of pianoforte and an NBC network star; Mischa Elzon, a violinist of concert renown; and Frank Clawson, violoncellist. The chief feature was the organization of a fine orchestra by Horace Britt, in which several members of the Language Schools participated, and which played at the dramatics performances of the French School. Correspondence and enrollments were taken over by the Language Schools Office.

The third session was held in 1940 with essentially the same staff and arrangements. Fifty students occupied D. U. and two smaller houses in the village. The new auditorium in the high school was used for general meetings and for orchestra practice. The session was a success, but plans for continuance were stopped abruptly by the World War. The French School continued its great interest in music, however. In 1941, Mme Averino, Britt, Elzon, Nin-Culmell and Miss Curtiss returned. The Sunday evening concerts were again popular, and Horace Britt's orchestra again performed at the plays and operettas of the several schools, and especially at the grand finale of Molière.

The idea of a Music Center did not die, although by 1943 the exigencies of the war had practically terminated the musical staff of the French School. In 1945, Miss Emma Boynet, a pupil of Isidore Philipp of the Paris Conservatory, was permitted to offer a Piano Summer Course on the campus and use the facilities of the Music Studio. It had some success, but the war situation did not permit its continuance. Then in 1946, Professor Alan Carter of the College organized the Composers' Conference and Chamber Music Center, which took place in the last two weeks in August, after the close of the Language Schools. The Château and the Music Studio were its chief facilities. A few Language Schools students remained, but in general there was no connection between the Language Schools and this Conference. It continued until its transfer to Bennington in 1950.

Another interesting experiment which was tried in order to render greater service, was the introduction of beginners' courses, open only to students from a different school, and not for graduate credit. It began in 1933 when the Italian School offered a beginners' course to members of the French and Spanish Schools who could find no such opportunity during the winter. The bulletin emphasized that "it is not open to members of the Casa Italiana, and thus constitutes no violation of the Middlebury requirement. . . ." A dozen students took the course each summer. In 1940, the Spanish School added a beginners' course with 24 students from other schools enrolled; and in 1942 a course in Beginning Portuguese, with 19 students. The other schools picked up the idea, and in 1944 beginners' courses were offered in French, German, Italian, Spanish; and also in Russian under the auspices of the French School (since the Russian School did not begin until 1945). The Spanish and Russian classes were usually the most popular. The Beginners' German class was given on the Middlebury campus, not in Bristol.

In spite of the service rendered to certain students, it became gradually apparent that these beginners' courses were interfering with the schools' cardinal principles of concentration and isolation. Students talked English in those classes, and practiced the new language in the laboratory, thus diminishing the intensity of their concentration on their major language. A decrease in the demand occurred also after the war was over. In 1947, Russian was the only beginners' course offered, and for the last summer. No beginners' courses were given thereafter in any of the schools until the opening of the Chinese School in 1966.

The session of 1939 was highlighted by several distinguished visitors. One of them was Antoine de Saint-Exupéry, brilliant novelist and aviator. Vivid memories remain of a dinner at Dog Team, attended also by Dorothy Thompson; or of a scene under a tree in front of East Forest, when 'Saint-Ex", as he was familiarly called, regaled a circle of friends with extraordinary stories of his experience flying the mail (and a lion loose in the cargo) across the Mediterranean. He returned to France shortly afterward, insisted on being enlisted in the Air Corps, and disappeared over the Italian front in July 1944.

The French School was particularly vulnerable to sudden changes caused by World War II. Within a week after the close of the successful session of 1939, André Morize was aboard the "Normandie" headed for France. His friend and former colleague of the Harvard ROTC staff in 1917, Jean Giraudoux, the famous novelist and playwright, had visited Middlebury early in the session. He had been named Minister of Information; and Morize accepted the appointment as his immediate assistant, Director of the Ministry of Information. Morize had been promoted to the rank of Officier of the Légion d'Honneur. From the declaration of war in September 1939 until the Fall of France in June 1940, Morize labored superhumanly to tell the world the story of Nazi ambition, treachery, and insidious power. His regular broadcasts were heard in this country, moving appeals to his American friends to stand firm for liberty. They formed the basis for several books which he published later: *France Été 1940*, *Devoirs d'aujourd'hui et Devoirs de demain*, and *Résistance*. When France was occupied after June 1940, Morize succeeded in escaping to Spain, reached Lisbon with great difficulty, and returned to this country by air on October 2, badly shaken in spirit.

Vincent Guilloton, who had been Assistant Director since 1935, and Acting Director in 1937 during Morize's absence, took charge of the session of 1940. No word had been received from Morize, but it was apparent that he could not get here. Mme Dussane had been appointed Visiting Professor, but she and Mme Moussu were unable to get transportation. Pierre de Lanux replaced Mme

Dussane. Otherwise the faculty and the program were largely unchanged from 1939; enrollment held up unexpectedly to capacity at 359. The morale of the whole school was a strange combination of sadness over the defeat of France, and an energetic determination to give expression to unshaken loyalty.

Morize began early to plan for the summer of 1941. Mme Dussane again could not come; and Morize himself was really the Visiting Professor, pouring into his course on the Intellectual Background of the France of Today all the insights, experiences and emotions of his painful year. Enrollment dropped to 287, as teachers of French began converting to Spanish. The Spanish School doubled in enrollment up to 238. Disheartened by job uncertainties, by the declining popularity of French, and the continuing bondage of France, the arriving students were met by a native French faculty under Morize's dynamic leadership which threw itself heart and soul into the task. Never was there a more serious, hard-working session.

Distinguished visitors added their lustre. Jules Romains, famous French novelist and playwright, gave several informal talks. Directed by him, the world-premiere performance of his play *Grâce encore pour la Terre* was given in McCullough. Julien Green, French-American novelist, spoke on the profession of a novelist. Professor André Mayer, with Mme Mayer, spent several days at the school shortly after his dramatic escape from France. Students and faculty contributed $650 to the American Field Service for a field ambulance which was inscribed with the name of the Middlebury French School; and $325 to the American Friends Service Committee for the feeding of French children. Among the newcomers to the faculty was Pierre Delattre, a young specialist in experimental phonetics, who served us and the profession brilliantly until his recent untimely death.

The French School touched its war low-point in 1942 and 1943 with enrollments of 194 and 174 respectively. Even these totals were creditable in view of the situation. Men had gone into service. Colleges were scheduling summer quarters, obliging students and teachers to remain there. High-paying government jobs and needs competed. Worst of all, the public was being told on all sides that "France is finished and French is a dead language." Enrollments in the Spanish School jumped to 326 in 1942, many of them avowedly converting from French. A favorite joke at the Spanish dining tables was: "Señorita Jones, where do you teach French?"

The French School held firm, in quality and morale. With determination and enthusiasm, Morize and his staff made these summers memorable. André Mayer, Visiting Professor, Vice President of the Collège de France, Middlebury Litt.D. 1942, gave a superb course on the Main Stages of French Thought. The students collected a purse of money for a scholarship, and presented it with a letter quoting President Roosevelt: "Wherever French scholars maintain the purity and the honor of French thought, the spirit of France is maintained." Several new courses were especially oriented toward the war. Guilloton lectured on France Between the Two Wars; Bourcier on War and Post-War France. Even the standard Red Cross course in First Aid was given (non-credit) on campus in French.

The physical situation became most difficult in 1943 with the advent of the

Navy V-12 unit of 500 men, and the adoption of the accelerated three-term calendar for the College. A special Science Summer Session was created. In order to house the Navy and the undergraduate students during the summer, the Spanish School was held at Bread Loaf, previous to the English School. The French School was limited to the Château, Painter, Starr, Hillside, and D. U. House. The overcrowded Château dining room had to have two sittings. Classrooms were critically insufficient, and consultation rooms non-existent. Most damaging of all was the impossibility of maintaining any "isolation and concentration". The school was submerged in the flood of English on the entire campus; 175 students who had pledged themselves to speak only French, surrounded by 700 students speaking nothing but English. The Navy boys could not be blamed for trying to get acquainted with the pretty French students. It was an untenable situation, but there was no alternative, and it had to be tolerated, with some amelioration, through 1945.

Other important changes had been taking place. President Moody was granted leave of absence in October 1940 to become Commissioner of Chaplains for the U.S. Army. His duties were left in the hands of an Administrative Committee, composed of Harry Owen, Professor of English and Director of the Bread Loaf School of English; Storrs Lee, Dean of Men; and myself as Chairman. Moody returned in April, 1941. During his absence, most of the plans for the Language Schools as well as policies for the college had been in my hands. Then in the spring of 1942, Dr. Moody resigned as President effective after the June Commencement. The trustees asked me to be Acting President. These responsibilities lasted until Dr. Samuel S. Stratton was appointed President, effective January 1, 1943. At the same time I was named Vice President. I continued to act as Dean of the French School under Morize's direction. The problems, the heartaches, and the satisfactions of those years of 1940-43 were very deep.

By the summer of 1944 the military situation in Europe had changed greatly, and with it the public attitude toward the study of French. The U. S. Army suddenly "discovered" that French was spoken in North Africa and started a crash program to give soldiers a fluent speaking knowledge of French for its African operations. From then on, the Army Specialized Training Program (ASTP) gave great publicity to the urgent need for a study of foreign languages, all of them, especially the neglected Asian languages, and Japanese in particular. Pointedly, and in final refutation of the "Reading Method" which Middlebury had combatted for 15 years, the Army insisted that a fluent speaking knowledge was the most important, and entirely feasible in a classroom situation. The "Army Method" was widely publicized as being something new.

In point of fact, the "Army Method" was composed of elements upon which Middlebury had long insisted: concentration upon a limited objective, and intensive oral practice. Students in the ASTP schools spent upwards of eight hours a day in class and laboratory practice, upon a single language and a limited vocabulary of military utility. Linguists from the American Council of Learned Societies, led by Mortimer Graves, added other useful but not essential features such as the use of a linguist to explain the structure, and a native "informant" to guide oral practice, rigidly separating the two functions. From 1946 to 1954, I was a member of the A.C.L.S. Committee on the Language

FRENCH SCHOOL FACULTY, SUMMER OF 1946

Front row, l.-r. M. Bourcier, M. Pargment, Mr. Freeman, Mme Guilloton, M. Jasinski, M. Morize, Mme Morize, Mme Gall-Bernot, M. Guilloton, Mme Moussu

Program, happily encouraging the new trend. Led by the *Reader's Digest* and other popular magazines, the American public began calling on the colleges and universities to adopt the "Army Method", and to insist that students could and should learn to speak a foreign language.

The effect on the French School was immediate, even unexpected. The enrollment in 1944 bounced back to 257, and to 317 the following summer. At the same time, the Spanish School, having been cut from its high of 326 in 1942 to the maximum capacity of Bread Loaf, maintained that figure of a little over 200 for several summers. The late-war and post-war summers were good ones for the Language Schools. Undergraduate students, especially girls, came to summer school because they could not go abroad. Veteran men returned from overseas with an awakened interest in foreign languages and cultures. Increasing language enrollments in schools throughout the country created a sharply increased demand for new teachers competent in the oral skills. The average age level was noticeably lowered during these years, without any lowering in quality.

More difficulty was experienced in securing French professors. The flow of native teachers from abroad could not yet begin. Teachers in this country were often preempted by their own institutions. The unexpected jump in enrollment resulted in noticeable understaffing in the summers of 1944 and 1945. The Visiting Professor in 1944 was André Prudhomme, from Princeton, jurist and authority on international relations. He gave courses on France's international situation and on its political ideas.

Most disquieting of all was a new element in the situation of Andre Morize. Harvard University adopted a new rule in 1943, requiring all its faculty members to remain on duty during the entire year, and forbidding them to hold any other position or to earn any regular salary from another institution. All our attempts at negotiation or compromise failed. Morize kept his title as Director, and laid the plans for the faculty and curriculum as energetically as ever. But during the summers of 1944 and 1945 he was "on leave"; Vincent Guilloton was the Acting Director, in full charge. Morize came up from Cambridge for the opening weekend, met with the faculty and students, made a few visits during the session, and delivered a few special lectures, but did no teaching.

The summer session of 1945 was the only one I have ever missed at Middlebury. The day after V-E day, May 8, a call from Washington asked me to take charge of the foreign language work in the Army Education program overseas, beginning at once. With the encouragement of Stratton, Morize, and the trustees, I accepted, seeing in the assignment some good experience, and some contacts profitable to Middlebury. First came the recruiting of faculty for the two projected G.I. universities in Biarritz, France, and Shrivenham, England. Trips to the Pentagon alternated with frantic planning to leave the Middlebury program in orderly shape for Claude Bourcier to assume my duties as Acting Dean. Leaving Middlebury in June, I was soon in Biarritz where I was appointed Head of the Liberal Arts Section and of the Languages Branch of the Army University of 4000 soldiers. It was indeed a very valuable experience, both in university administration, and in the opportunity to see France emerging from the war. Many of my colleagues and students there have remained permanent friends. Radio broadcasts, speeches to groups, and meetings with Middlebury friends and associates occupied every extra moment. But President Stratton wanted me back in Middlebury, so after two sessions I applied for release, and returned in early February 1946.

André Morize's last session as Director was the summer of 1946. Harvard consented to give him leave by special waiver so that he could be present in full and personal charge for the last time. Every effort was exerted to make it a gloriously successful summer. René Jasinski of the Sorbonne came as Visiting Professor; and nearly all the old faithful staff of the previous decade was there. The enrollment was up to 351, the largest in the school's history. Many of the students were veterans, back for "refresher" training. Morize's course was on his scholarly specialization: Men and Ideas in the XVIIIth Century.

August 8 was a special "farewell day" for Morize. Distinguished guests came to honor him: Henri Bonnet, French Ambassador; M. Chambon, Consul General in Boston; Baron de Cabrol, Vice Consul; M. Guédenet, Cultural Attaché; Waldo Leland, Director of the ACLS; William Berrien, Chairman of Harvard's Department of Romance Languages, and others. An impressive ceremony was held in Mead Chapel, at which the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon M. Bonnet. Farewell tributes were addressed to Morize by Stratton and myself. At the close of the session, farewell parties with gifts were given by the faculty and the school. Everyone realized that this was the end of an era.

Morize's final Report to the President is a plea for the continuation of the "high standards of quality which have been mercilessly maintained. . . . A school like this is worth exactly what its faculty is worth. . . . It is to a large extent a work of love". . . He pleads for an enrichment of the library, for greater flexibility of space on the campus to provide for the crucial separation of schools—the isolation necessary for total immersion in the culture; but above all for the maintenance of quality of instruction.

Morize continued to teach at Harvard until his retirement in January 1951, assuming important responsibilities in the department. On January 12, a host of his former pupils, colleagues and friends gave him an affectionate farewell dinner at the Statler Hotel in Boston. William Locke of M.I.T. headed the arrangements; he gave me the honor of being toastmaster. Not long afterward, Morize went back to Paris to live, his health undermined by the savage demands he had always made upon his magnificent physique. He continued his interest in Middlebury, and remained in contact with many former Middlebury teachers living in France. He died of lung cancer after considerable suffering, on October 3, 1957. A seminar room in the College Library bears his name.

Rarely does one see an academic organization which reflects so completely and expresses so faithfully the ideals, the actions, and the personality of one person, as did the French School of André Morize. He showed supreme skill in organization. Adopting and strengthening the Stroebe-de Visme concept of separation and concentration, he worked out its implementation to a nearly perfect pattern. His insistence upon the highest quality, even in the intermediate language courses; the effective combination of literary, cultural, and teacher-training courses; the balancing of the academic with drama, music and relaxation; above all, the absolutely strict observance of the pledge of no English—these essential features owed their success to his wisdom and skill. By his preeminence as a scholar, teacher, and lecturer, he set the highest ideals. He taught many different courses—Stylistics, Literature of the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries, Contemporary Poetry, the Intellectual Background of France—all with a thoroughness of scholarship, a depth of insight, and a brilliance of expression, which his colleagues and students thrilled to watch and despaired of emulating.

He created not only a great school; he made it a uniquely human place by the warmth of his own personality. The whole school had an atmosphere of comradeship and unaffected friendliness, because of his genuine personal interest in every member of it. The Caveau was a gathering place symbolic of the solidarity of a faculty united in admiration and affection for its leader. With an extraordinary memory, he exercised fatherly supervision over the younger students, often without their knowledge. He was available for consultation at all hours; the light usually burned in his office until 2:00 a.m., and anyone felt free to stop and ask information or advice, academic or personal. For twenty-one summers, he spent himself unreservedly, joyously, sustained by a wonderful sense of humor, good taste, and balance, which enabled him to lead chapel service on a Sunday morning, and in the evening clown Le Grand Turc in *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* with equal effectiveness.

Speaking at the exercises at Harvard on Memorial Day 1918, Morize said: "Thus is forged the chain which from generation to generation links together the souls of the brave. Our acts are eternal; only their appearance is transitory" . . . and he concluded with a quotation from Maeterlinck: "Death has no victory so long as living men remain."

THE BUILDERS

The Spanish School

Juan Centeno, 1931 - 1949

It was not an easy matter to replace the dynamic and aristocratic Julián Moreno-Lacalle. Young Juan Centeno, a member of the summer faculty since 1929, was learning fast, but was not yet ready. The obvious choice for the head of the Spanish School in 1930 was Dr. Carlos Concha. He had been a regular member of Lacalle's summer faculty since 1923, a scholarly and popular teacher of Spanish-American literature and civilization. A graduate of the University of San Marcos in Lima, Peru, with the degree of Doctor of Political Science, he had taught there, and had also been the private secretary of the president of Peru. Political changes forced both of them to leave the country in 1923. After a year at Villanova, Dr. Concha was appointed instructor at Yale. Following Lacalle's resignation, President Moody persuaded him to come to Middlebury as Professor of Spanish and Dean of the Spanish School for the entire year.

Dr. Concha set about recruiting a strong faculty for 1930. Lacalle's goodwill facilitated the return of many of the 1929 faculty—Juan Centeno, Alicia Acosta, Margarita de Mayo, Miguel de Zarraga. He secured the acceptance of the Chilean poetess Gabriela Mistral, and announced her in the bulletin, but she was unable to come. The Visiting Professor from Spain was Dr. Samuel Gili-Gaya, a foremost authority on Spanish phonetics and philology, a teacher in the Centro de Estudios Históricos in Madrid. Another addition was Javier Lasso de la Vega, Secretary of the National Library in Madrid, an historian of Spanish art. It was a good summer, with an enrollment of 81. Social activities continued the Lacalle tradition, with emphasis on folk-songs taught by Señora Alhambra and dances taught by Señorita Cortés.

Carlos Concha had been appointed for two years. In October, 1930, President Moody was surprised by his request for immediate release. Volatile politics in Peru had changed again, and he now wished to accept an appointment as Peruvian Ambassador to Bolivia. Subsequently he was Minister of Foreign Relations and Secretary of State in Peru for several years, and represented Peru in the difficult negotiations in Washington with Ecuador over the border war. At that time, he paid a visit to the Centenos in Middlebury. He died still young in 1944.

The selection of Dr. Samuel Gili-Gaya as his replacement was a wise and safe choice. He had been successful with the students here; he was a recognized scholar, noted in his field; he had had good experience teaching foreigners at the Centro and at the Instituto Escuela, and had been a Visiting Professor at the University of Puerto Rico in 1929-30. He was given the title of Director of the Spanish School. Since he was in Spain, a resident Dean was needed to teach, and to administer the affairs of the school, during the winter. Moody appointed a young Puerto Rican, Clemente Pereda, who had graduated from Peabody College for Teachers, and had his Master's degree from Columbia.

The session of 1931 was conspicuous for the visit of Gabriela Mistral, who did finally come, as Visiting Professor from Spanish America. She had been a principal of public schools in Chile, Visiting Professor at Columbia, and Counsellor of Latin-American Affairs in the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations. She later became the first woman to receive the Nobel Prize for poetry. Her course on Spanish-American literature and her special lectures on her own poetry were a personal triumph. She was a motherly person, tender, genuine, with great human-interest appeal. She presented her native land as a "motherland". Especially for the women students, she represented a great spiritual personality, the woman in the center of a Greek tragedy. Idealism was at its height, coincident with the establishment of the Republic in Spain in April 1931.

A noteworthy addition to the faculty was the very intelligent Pilar de Madariaga, Doctor of Philosophy from Madrid, instructor in Spanish at Vassar, sister of the famous Oxford scholar Salvador Madariaga. She returned for the summer of 1932, and then later for several summers in the 1940's. Dr. Gili-Gaya gave a special seminar on research to encourage the candidates for the new D.M.L. degree; courses on phonetics and Don Quijote, and special evening lectures on García-Lorca and the vanguard poets. The new Dean, Clemente Pereda, resigned at the end of the summer. He was an earnest, deep personality, but his sensitive nature had no taste for the hard facts and routines of administration. He returned to Puerto Rico.

President Moody now decided that Juan Centeno had had a sufficient apprenticeship. He called him in Syracuse in August 1931 and persuaded him to accept an immediate appointment as Associate Professor of Spanish, winter session, and Dean of the Spanish School. Centeno had first come to our attention through Pierre Thomas of the French School when they were colleagues in the University of Oregon in 1928-29. Moreno-Lacalle had invited him to join the summer faculty in 1929 on the recommendation of Dr. Solalinde, the great medievalist, who knew him at Wisconsin.

Juan Augusto Centeno was educated in Madrid, receiving the degree of Doctor of Medicine from the University of Madrid in 1927. He then came to the University of Wisconsin as a graduate fellow in bacteriological medicine. Disappointed with the opportunities which were opened to him for medical research there, and having no close relatives in Spain, he turned gradually, through the influence of Dr. Solalinde, to the teaching of Spanish literature and culture, in which he had also received a solid education in Madrid. A high order of intelligence, utter conscientiousness, and an engagingly modest personality were his superlative qualifications both as a teacher and an administrator.

At Wisconsin he met Miss Catherine Tripp, who was studying Spanish there; they were married in June 1929, thus beginning an ideal partnership in which she was not only wife and mother, but also a devoted secretary, administrative assistant, and Spanish School hostess. When they came to Middlebury from Syracuse, she enrolled as a student, earning her A.B. degree in the class of 1933, and her M.A. in 1942.

JUAN CENTENO
Dean and Director of the Spanish School, 1931-1949; Professor of Spanish, Middlebury College, 1931-1947

Dr. Gili-Gaya returned again from Spain as Visiting Director in the summers of 1932 and 1933, but he delegated all the administrative functions of the school to the new Dean Centeno. A noteworthy new member of the faculty was young Joaquín Casalduero, Licenciado and Doctor en Filosofía y Letras from the University of Madrid, then teaching at Smith College, after short periods at the Universities of Strasbourg, Marburg, Cambridge and Oxford. He was destined to become one of the most important men in the history of the school, in length of service, and in the significance of his contributions, as teacher, adviser, and on several occasions Acting Director.

Manuel García-Blanco came to Middlebury first in 1932 as instructor, returning in 1935, and later as Visiting Professor. Doctor en Filosofía y Letras from the University of Madrid, most of his career was spent at the University of Salamanca where he was successively Professor, and highly influential Secretary of the University. His successful teaching here, and especially his later cooperation with the Middlebury Graduate School of Spanish in Spain, were most valuable. The Visiting Professor in 1932 was Dr. Salvador Salazar, a distinguished leader of cultural activity in Havana, president of Cuban Academy groups, editor and author. He gave scholarly lectures on Spanish-American and Cuban literature. Young Juan Castellano, also Doctor en Letras from Madrid, returned, as did the charming Pilar de Madariaga.

The atmosphere of the school was particularly happy that summer, with a high proportion of young teachers. The newly-born Italian School participated, along with the French School, in the annual Masquerade Ball and the weekly dances. The schedule of plays was ambitious, under the direction of Professor Salazar. The "Juegos Florales" and Literary Competition continued to be a highlight. Held in the Hepburn Zoo, the floor was covered with rugs. The faculty men all dressed in tuxedo; the ladies in flowery costumes. Dr. Casalduero was the "Sostendor"; Catherine Centeno was the "Reina".

"Mother" Mason's garden was always the focal point of the outdoor activities: teas, folk-singing after the evening meal, informal dramatics. "Mother" Mason herself was considered almost a member of the faculty, and appears in all the group pictures. Miss Rose Martin, a graduate of the school and teacher in the winter session, was a regular member of the staff, not teaching, but invaluable in the office for the whole range of administrative duties. The Sunday evening religious services continued, without the aid of a Chaplain. Dr. Gili-Gaya, with a very human sense of humor, explained that as a good Free Mason, (Spanish Masons have a strong moral code quite separate from the Church) he couldn't lead Chapel unless everyone did. So each member of the faculty took his turn at the lectern, reading some religious or ethical selections. Dr. Casalduero used to read passages from *La Vida de Santa Teresa*. The services were discontinued after 1934.

Fortune did not smile on the session of 1933. This was the depth of the Depression; teachers were out of a job or their salaries were cut. Gabriela Mistral had planned to return, and was announced, but was unable to come. The teaching staff numbered seven—Gili-Gaya, Centeno, Casalduero, Sra. Acosta, Srtas de Mayo, the new Elena Araujo, and Margot Arce, appointed late as Visiting Professor from Puerto Rico, upon Mistral's recommendation. These seven gave eleven courses to an enrollment of 39 students. Only 28 students lived in Hepburn that summer. It was a discouragingly low point, as indeed for the other Middlebury schools and for all summer schools around the country.

Dr. Gili-Gaya, sensing in all honesty that a Visiting Director was not needed and could not be afforded in a school of that size, resigned at the end of the summer. President Moody asked Juan Centeno to take the helm alone. Still over-modest, and feeling the need of an important name to give prestige to the school, Centeno asked for a Visiting Director for one more summer. Dr. Miguel Romera Navarro, Professor at the University of Pennsylvania, literary historian, editor, and lecturer, was named Director for 1934. He taught courses in Old Spanish, and Contemporary Prose. Convinced of the value of prominent names, he replaced several of the "old guard." Dr. Guillermo Rivera of Harvard came to teach the Golden Age Novel, and the Eighteenth Century. Dr. Louis Solano of Harvard was shared with the French and Italian Schools in a course in Romance Linguistics, taught in English. Again, a faculty of seven gave eleven courses. Enrollment rose to 52. But prominent names and high scholarship alone were not the solution to the problem at hand. A certain spirit of informal friendliness seemed to be lacking among the newcomers; there was no friction, but they did not seem to be "simpático." Budget problems with the president and treasurer remained crucial and unsolved. Dr. Navarro resigned the directorship in November. This time, President Moody persuaded Juan Centeno to "go it alone", retaining simply the title of Dean. The "interregnum" was over; the "Centeno era" was fully in his hands.

He made no drastic changes in the session of 1935. It was not in his nature to be radical or to seek publicity; and anyway, he had been in charge of the entire administrative side of the school for four years. His two chief tasks were to balance the budget, and to recreate an atmosphere of warmth and congenial participation. The first was difficult, with the enrollment holding at 54; but he reduced the teaching faculty to five, besides Louis Solano who was shared with the French and Italian. He taught two major courses himself, Advanced Composition, and Introduction to Spanish Literature. He persuaded García-Blanco, who had been so enthusiastically received in 1932, to return as Visiting Professor. Joaquín Casalduero also returned after a summer's absence. These two men, eminent scholars and warm personalities, helped to set the tone.

Centeno himself was peculiarly endowed to achieve the second objective. Outwardly calm and poised, though inwardly intense, persuasive rather than forceful, stimulating a response of friendship and confidence in others, he moulded the faculty and students into a close-knit cooperating group. Known formally as "el decano", and with affectionate familiarity as "Juanito", he emphasized the community and full participation. Recalling some of the devices of Lacalle, he developed the general singing of folk-songs in the dining-room after meals, or at twilight in "Mother" Mason's garden. The rather out-moded formal "Juegos Florales" were replaced by a literary competition with prizes awarded at a special gathering. Daily menus were mimeographed and distributed at table, with jokes, proverbs, and four-line "coplas populares" for conversation-starters. A complex system (borrowed back from the French School) of rotation in the dining room and around the tables, forced everyone to get acquainted with each other and with the faculty. Dances, games, skits, and informal dramatic readings stressed individual participation. Visitors from Spain, accustomed to its formal university traditions, were astonished that the faculty not only lived with the students, but actually "played" with them.

The outbreak of the Civil War in Spain gave an unexpected character to the summer of 1936 and had a tremendous influence on following summers. The Centenos had spent the first semester of 1934 on leave in Spain, and had sensed the gathering storm. The Frente Popular—composed of Republican-Loyalists, Socialists and some Communists—was opposed by the Nationalists-Fascists. The polarization was proceeding rapidly to general strikes, the burning of churches, and violent excesses. General Franco returned from Morocco at the head of a well-organized revolt against the elected Republican government; and the Civil War began in July 1936. Faculty and students in Middlebury gathered around "Mother" Mason's short wave radio in Hepburn to hear the latest communiqués. The faculty members were all Loyalists, on the side of the Republic, in a broad spectrum of opinion. The moderate García-Blanco, returning for his third summer, was naturally much worried about his family whom he had left in Salamanca.

Dr. Centeno had difficulty constituting his faculty for 1936, due partly to the Spanish situation. Margot Arce and Marcial Dorado, who were announced, did not come. Dr. Federico Sanchez-y-Escribano taught the Methods course. Another newcomer in the faculty of six was Salvador Dinamarca, a vigorous young instructor from Harvard, specializing in phonetics, who came back for many summers. García-Blanco gave a timely series of lectures on the political situation in Spain and the social background of the Civil War. There was much fraternizing between the Spanish and Italian School faculties, led by the Italian School director Miss Bosano.

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PEDRO SALINAS
Professor at the University of Madrid until 1936; frequently Visiting Professor, Middlebury Spanish School thereafter

JORGE GUILLÉN
Professor at the Universities of Seville and Santander until 1935; frequently Visiting Professor, Middlebury Spanish School thereafter

Centeno considered Spanish art an important cultural aspect of the curriculum. In this, he was greatly assisted by his good friend Arthur K. D. Healy, then living in Middlebury, and later Artist in Residence and Professor at the College. Together they secured reproductions of famous Spanish paintings, and set up an exhibit in Hepburn, with a guide-leaflet showing in what American cities and museums the originals could be seen. Mr. Healy also painted the front and sets for a marionette stage or "teatrito" in which genuine puppets on strings presented Spanish playlets, manipulated by Mrs. Centeno and students. The curtains also were designed by Mr. Healy, and the artistic velvet appliqués were sewed on by Mrs. Paul Moody. The "teatrito" had a considerable repertory and was used for many summers. The Spanish School used the old Playhouse on Weybridge St. for its formal plays.

The Civil War in Spain soon began to make distinguished intellectuals, scholars, and teachers available in this country. Before the war began, Pedro Salinas had accepted an appointment at Wellesley for the academic year 1936-37, and had to escape through France in the fall of 1936. Unable to return to Spain, he came to Middlebury as Visiting Professor in the summers of 1937 and 1938. Dr. Salinas had had good contact with American students as Director of the Courses for Foreign Students of the Centro, Professor at the University of Madrid, and General Secretary of the Summer University of Santander. More importantly, he was a well-known poet, having published several volumes of excellent poetry, as well as literary articles and reviews. He taught two courses: Contemporary Poetry, and Romanticism, in 1937; the Modern Novel, and Baroque Literature, in 1938. He also gave frequent evening "charlas" or informal chats on personal reminiscences, Spanish literary figures and topics. Middlebury College awarded him the degree of Doctor of Letters, honoris causa, in August 1937. Casalduero, Sanchez y Escribano and Dinamarca completed a teaching staff of the highest quality.

To the same group in 1938, Margot Arce was added as Guest Professor from Puerto Rico, well remembered from 1933, teaching courses in Spanish-American literature. "Mother" Mason retired as Superintendent of Dormitories after the session of 1936, greatly regretted by all; and died in 1938. Two courses were given in English, shared among the French, Italian, and Spanish Schools: Louis Solano's Romance Linguistics; and the Teaching of Modern Foreign Languages, by Professor James B. Tharp, a nationally known leader in language circles. The following year, Professor Henry Grattan Doyle, likewise nationally known, and a hispanist as well, gave the methods course, jointly for the three schools, in English. The instruction was excellent, but after careful observation, it was decided to discontinue joint courses in English. It became evident that they constituted too great an interruption to the students' habit and pledge of thinking and speaking in only one language.

Jorge Guillén came to the Spanish School in the summer of 1939. A close friend of Pedro Salinas, he too was a poet of genius, renowned in the literary and academic world of Spain. Professor at the University of Sevilla and also at Santander, he had stayed on at Sevilla after 1936, but had sent his family to safety in France. At Salinas' suggestion, he came to Middlebury College in the first semester of 1938-39 to replace Centeno, on leave travelling in Mexico. After the summer of 1939 here, he spent a year at McGill, and then went to Wellesley, following Salinas, where he taught for many years, returning frequently to Middlebury in the summer. Many consider him one of Europe's best poets in his time. Mild-mannered, soft-spoken, genuinely friendly, a true aristocrat of the intellect, he was a brilliant success at the school, in his courses on Lyric Poetry, and Cervantes, in the Monday evening "charlas", and in the whole social life of the school. In 1940, he taught Contemporary Literature, and Popular Currents of Spanish Literature.

Another interesting addition to the 1939 faculty was Richard Pattee. Truly bilingual, he taught history at the University of Puerto Rico; then became Senior Assistant in the Division of Cultural Relations for Latin America, in the U.S. Department of State. A man of big frame and forceful presence, he taught his course on the Social Evolution of Spanish America with authority and great success. He returned to Middlebury in 1942 and 1943, and was announced for 1944, but the war prevented. Professor José Arce of Dartmouth College made in that summer one of the early motion pictures of the college.

The same strong team continued in the summer of 1940, with the addition of another Spanish exile, José López-Rey of the University of Madrid, a notable authority on Spanish art, and member of the Committee for the Protection of Art Works during the Civil War. His was a Middlebury romance; he met and married

Señorita Justa Arroyo who with her sister Arsenia brought much popularity to a program of instruction in Spanish folk-dances and songs. Miss Concha Bretón, who had been here in 1926, joined the faculty and came as a regular member for many years. Joaquín Nin-Culmell, an excellent young pianist and composer, member of the Middlebury Music Center faculty in 1938 to 1940, was shared with the Spanish School and gave a series of illustrated lectures on Spanish music.

The years of World War II, 1941 through 1946, were a high point for the Middlebury Spanish School, a period of outstanding success and prestige. Several distinct factors combined to bring this about, under the wise, thorough, and dedicated leadership of Juan Centeno, who had at last accepted the title of Director.

The first factor, which we have already seen beginning to operate, was the Spanish Civil War and Franco's victory in April 1939. The flight of intellectuals from Spain made it possible for the Spanish School to welcome to its faculty in successive summers many of Spain's finest minds—statesmen, poets and teachers. Pedro Salinas and Jorge Guillén became familiar faces at the school. In 1941 the Visiting Professor was the renowned phonetician Tomás Navarro Tomás, Professor at the University of Madrid and the Centro, member of the Spanish Academy. He had fled from Spain and accepted a chair at Columbia. Middlebury College had awarded him the degree of Doctor of Letters, honoris causa, in 1940. He taught the regular course in phonetics, made a series of recordings of phonetics exercises for students and gave special lectures. He too became a familiar and admired figure in the school, returning many times as Visiting Professor or regular member of the faculty. A dignified, scholarly person, he expected a thorough knowledge of phonetic theory, insisted upon a mastery of phonetic transcription, and was greatly respected by his students.

Another great personality who began coming in 1941 was Don Americo Castro. As Guest Lecturer, he was announced as the foremost scholar in Hispanic letters, and the mentor of the younger generation of Spanish teachers. An energetic figure in the center of literary controversies, he had left Spain in 1936, had held visiting professorships in Buenos Aires, Wisconsin, and Texas, and was then at Princeton. He gave a series of special lectures in the last two weeks of the session.

The Visiting Professor in 1942 was the elderly Enrique Diez-Canedo, poet, literary critic in *El Sol,* member of the Spanish Academy, and the chief authority on the theatre and Spanish-American literature. He too had fled from Madrid, after holding the post of Ambassador of Spain to Uruguay and to Argentina.

The most eminent of all the Spanish exiles at Middlebury was Don Fernando de los Ríos. Professor of Political Science in the University of Madrid, he occupied successively under the Republic the cabinet posts of Minister of Justice, Public Education, and State; then became Ambassador of Spain to the United States. He held this post until 1939; then was appointed in the New School for Social Research. Middlebury College gave him its degree of Doctor of Laws, honoris causa, in August 1942. In 1945, he was the school's Visiting Professor, teaching a brilliant course on Spain's social and cultural life in the classical period. The de los Ríos family, including at times four generations, lived for several summers in Middlebury, in the K.D.R. House and later in the Zeta Psi House on Franklin Street, even before 1945. His daughter Laura was married in Middlebury to Francisco García-Lorca, future Director of the Spanish School.

There were many other refugees from Spain on the faculty during these years. Several came from the staff of the Instituto Escuela in Madrid: Sofía Novoa, Marina Romero, Isabel García-Lorca. Others were José del Pino, María Díez de Oñate, Justina Ruiz. Tomás Navarro's daughter Joaquina came from Paris to assist him. Soledad Salinas joined her father at Middlebury where she was courted and married by young Juan Marichal, now professor at Harvard. Jorge Guillén's family came with him. Stephen Gilman, a student in 1940 and 1941 after graduating from Princeton, met and married Guillén's daughter Teresa. They too are now at Harvard. Many exiles, young and old, found at Middlebury a quiet haven after the anguished death of the Republic, and came to love it as a second home.

The second factor which contributed to the success of this period was the "Good Neighbor Policy." President Roosevelt recognized early the importance of hemispheric solidarity during a global conflict, and consciously developed a policy of making citizens of the United States better informed about Americans of all the Americas. This was nothing new to the Middlebury Spanish School, which from the very beginning had included Spanish America on an equal basis with European Spain. Teachers had come from Chile, Peru, Mexico and Cuba to explain the special characteristics of their literature and culture, and even of their language. Middlebury was therefore ready, and could respond without hypocrisy to the invitation of the Department of State to feature "our good neighbors to the south" and to orient teachers of Spanish in that direction. Centeno had good contacts with the Department of State, choosing from its nominees for appointments only those men of letters or diplomats who were at the same time university men and adaptable to our academic atmosphere.

TOMÁS NAVARRO TOMÁS
Professor at the University of Madrid until 1936; Member of the Spanish Academy; frequently Visiting Professor, Middlebury Spanish School, after 1941

Americo Castro's special lecture series in 1941 treated the conquest of America, and Great Figures of Spanish-American Literature. Tomás Navarro's course that year dealt with the Spanish language in America. Salvador Dinamarca, a Chilean, gave the Introduction to Spanish-American Literature. José Arce gave a rotating series of courses on the social, economic and cultural background of contemporary Spanish-America.

In 1942, Diez-Canedo, the Visiting Professor treated "the theatre of La Plata in relation to the theatre of the whole continent." Richard Pattee of the State Department returned after an absence of two years, to deal with the Evolution of Caribbean America. Raimundo Lazo from the University of Havana taught the Spanish-American Novel. Fortunate were those who heard Pedro Salinas analyze the Lyric Poetry of Rubén Darío. At that memorable August Commencement in 1942, one of the four men on whom I conferred honorary degrees was Francisco Castello-Najera, Mexican Ambassador to the United States since 1935, former President of the Council of the League of Nations.

It was not forgotten that Portuguese is also a major language of South America. A course in Beginning Portuguese was offered in 1942 and elected by 19 students, under the special arrangement of beginners' courses open to members of other schools. The class was successful and evidently answered a need, but had to be discontinued because of the move to Bread Loaf.

The Department of State, through the Division of Cultural Relations, gave active support to the Spanish-American program of the school in 1943 by sending two Visiting Professors: Daniel Samper Ortega, former Director of the Colombian National Library, and Max Dickman, Argentine critic and writer. Richard Pattee, besides his regular course on the social evolution of Spanish-America, directed a series of relevant lectures on the contemporary situation, which brought to Middlebury a number of distinguished authorities. Other members of the faculty added to the same emphasis, as for example, Mariano Picon-Salas of Chile former Director of Culture in the Ministry of Education in Venezuela, who explained the Cultural History of Hispano-America.

In another constructive move, continued for several years, the State Department through the Institute of International Education, gave special residence awards to Spanish-American students unable to return to their homes during the short summer vacation. In this way each summer, five or more scholarship holders from Chile, Bolivia, Uruguay, Venezuela and elsewhere were enabled to spend a summer at Middlebury, and contributed greatly to the atmosphere of the school.

Complications caused by the war interfered considerably with plans for the summers of 1944 and 1945. Richard Pattee and Anderson-Imbert, announced for 1944, were unable to come. Instead, José María Chacón y Calvo, former Ambassador of Cuba to Madrid, taught Spanish-American Poetry. The Department of State was delighted to persuade this high Cuban intellectual to make his first visit to the United States. Professor Sergio Bagú, Argentinian economist and lecturer on post-war social problems, gave popular courses for three summers on Contemporary Hispanic-America. In 1945, the State Department sent the friendly Octavio Paz, Ambassador of Mexico to India. In 1946, it was the influential Antonio Castro Leal, former Rector of the University of Mexico. Dr. Raimundo Lazo, of the University of Havana, Vice-President of the International Institute of Ibero-American Literature, well-remembered from 1942, returned to give courses on the Spanish language in America, and on the Indigenous Theme in Spanish-American Literature. His wife, professor of the history of art at the University of Havana, lectured on Spanish-American architecture, sculpture and painting.

During these half-dozen years from 1941 to 1946, the Middlebury Spanish School was a rallying-point and focus for the leading men and women of letters and intellectuals of Hispanic culture from all over the world. In no other single institution in the world, especially after the Spanish Civil War, could poets, authors, professors, diplomats from Spain meet in such an informal and stimulating setting with their colleagues and counterparts from Hispanic America. They gathered here from Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Chile, Venezuela, Argentina, Peru, Uruguay, Colombia. Here they found men and women of like minds, a body of eager listeners and alert pupils. Here they found congenial spirits, a relaxed but intellectual atmosphere, an opportunity to talk and write and think. A mingling of accents, a sharing of viewpoints and ideas representing the whole Hispanic world took place on the Middlebury campus. For those fortunate enough to participate in it, it was an unforgettable experience.

Enriched by exiles from Spain, and strengthened by the "Good Neighbor Policy", the Spanish School responded with a surprising success of numbers. The war in Europe and the defeat of France made it impossible for teachers to go abroad, and they came to Middlebury instead. The French language and French culture were popularly branded as finished and dead. High schools eliminated courses in French, and forced French teachers to convert to Spanish in order to hold their jobs. Middlebury was the obvious place, especially for former French School students. From an enrollment of 60 in 1939, the Spanish School doubled to 116 in 1940 (including 44 coming from the other schools, chiefly the French). It more than doubled again, to 238 in 1941 (including 98 from the other schools); and reached a record total of 326 in 1942 (including 103 from the other schools). It would have been impossible to accommodate them, except for the completion of Gifford Hall, occupied by the Spanish School for the first time in 1941, sharing space with the Italian School. Besides Hepburn and Gifford Halls, the D.U. House and Hillside Cottage were put into service; 13 students lived in town, and eight in the French dormitories.

This unexpected flood created many special problems for Centeno. The pressure of administration was terrific. His wife Catherine had been handling all of the secretarial work and office records, without compensation. Much of it was done evenings. Some additional clerical help was secured, but kept to a minimum. By intense effort, he secured additional faculty, calling on Spanish exiles and natives teaching in secondary schools in this country. A large percentage of the new students, converting from French, needed intermediate courses in the language, and it was comparatively easy to create extra sections in those courses, if the teachers were available. From a total staff of 14, including wives, in 1940, the faculty and staff with wives and becarios grew in 1942 to 46!

Besides the professors already named, Centeno added many nationally known teachers. He invited from Princeton his brother Augusto, whom he greatly admired. Concha Bretón, Elisa Curtis-Guajardo, María Díez de Oñate, Eduardo

SPANISH SCHOOL FACULTY, SUMMER OF 1943

[illegible]

[illegible] Silva, [illegible] Nieves, Julián [illegible], [illegible] Fernández, Manuel Salas, Isabel García Lorca, all becoming [illegible] whose personalities [illegible]. The staff, like the enlarged faculty, [illegible] in the basement of Gifford, with breakfast facilities, and [illegible] was called the [illegible] "[illegible] spot", [illegible] after a run.

Then came [illegible] the move to Bread Loaf. Effective July 1, 1943, a Navy V-12 training program was established on the Middlebury campus through the efforts of President Stratton. The college also [illegible] through the summer with an enrollment of some 200 students. After much planning, it was decided that there was hardly room for the French and Italian Schools on campus, and that the Spanish School must go to Bread Loaf. It was held from June 26 to August 8, exactly six weeks, followed immediately by the English School, from August 11 to September 2, [illegible] with the Writers' Conference running concurrently from August 16 to 28. This arrangement, or equivalent, was followed for three years, through the summer of 1945.

The inevitable result was a reduction of the enrollment to the maximum capacity of the Bread Loaf dormitories, approximately 200. By using the cottages, by some severe crowding, by housing some students in East Middlebury, and with gratitude to some faculty members for accepting several rather rustic accommodations, the student enrollment in 1945 reached 221. There were of course no students coming from the other schools. The last week in June is not always the ideal season at Bread Loaf; the weather is still cool and may be rainy. General spraying was at that time neither effective nor yet forbidden, and the black flies had a voracious appetite for Spanish blood.

Yet the Spanish School enjoyed Bread Loaf. Centeno reported that "by the end of the first week everyone had become reconciled to the new location, and by the end of the session, they were wholeheartedly Bread Loaf devotees." The isolation, the complete freedom of the mountain campus, and the total separation from the other schools were all greatly appreciated. They praised the physical plant and the service. There is no question that July at Bread Loaf can be perfectly idyllic. Students and especially the faculty from abroad found that the Middlebury spirit was raised to the *n*th degree at Bread Loaf. The Barn was naturally the Centro de Recreo. Navarro Tomás organized a new Phonetics Center in Bridgman. The Bookstore was located in Treman. The Centenos lived in Fritz Cottage. Transporting the necessary Spanish library from the campus and rearranging it in the Bread Loaf library was a heavy chore. Picnics at the Snow Bowl were something special.

Robert Frost took a generous interest in the school, and welcomed several of the faculty members, especially Casalduero and Florit. His daughter was fond of Spanish literature, had visited Spain, and was acquainted with Concha de Albornoz of Mt. Holyoke, a member of the school's faculty. She had written articles on American literature that were published in Spain, and was known in Spanish literary circles.

One of the most colorful figures at Bread Loaf was Professor Leo Spitzer of Johns Hopkins University, an internationally known Romance philologist. His lectures were brilliant examples of showmanship as well as scholarship. Speaking at one time in the Little Theatre on the occasion of a particularly beautiful sunset, he declared that it had been staged expressly in his honor. But another evening, a typical Bread Loaf thunderstorm knocked out the lights, and he finished his lecture on Spanish mysticism very dramatically in the darkness. The college bestowed the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws upon him at the 1946 August Commencement.

The Spanish School returned somewhat regretfully to Hepburn and Gifford Halls on the campus in 1946, and to the usual calendar, alongside of the other schools. The war was over; the V-12 unit had departed; the war-time rush to Spanish in the public schools was tapering off a little. Enrollments for the next few years remained at about 215, more or less stabilized at the Bread Loaf figure. New and significant faces began to appear among the faculty. Jorge Mañach, Professor at the University of Havana, formerly Minister of Education, later Minister of State of Cuba, was the very successful Visiting Professor in 1947, lecturing on Gaucho Poetry. As he was a classmate of mine at Harvard, I was particularly pleased to welcome him. Max Enríquez-Ureña, former Secretary of State and Ambassador of the Dominican Republic, member of the Delegation to the United Nations, lectured on literature. Emilio González-López of Columbia University and Hunter College, future Director of the Spanish School, came first in 1947.

Other successful teachers like Luis A. Baralt, founder of the Art Theatre of Havana, and one-time Secretary of Education in Cuba; Federico G. Gil, head of Latin-American Studies at the University of North Carolina; Juan Marichal, then at Princeton, now at Harvard; Heberto Lacayo, Chairman of Spanish at Russell Sage College; José A. Encinas, Secretary of the Peruvian Delegation to the United Nations; the Cuban Eugenio Florit from Barnard College; Ermilo Abreu of the Division of Philosophy and Letters of the Pan-American Union: they and others were added during these years. The "old faithfuls"—Tomás Navarro, Pedro Salinas, Jorge Guillén, Joaquín Casalduero, and others, came back more or less regularly, as needed. The curriculum became a fairly standardized pattern—strong and effective courses in oral and written Spanish, phonetics, teaching techniques, and a rotating program of literature and civilization balanced between Spain and Spanish America.

The vigorous life of the Spanish School continued, but the Director, the moving spirit of it all, Juan Centeno, was not well. Working to the point of exhaustion since 1931, asking nothing less than perfection of himself, sensitive to one period of tension after another, both administrative and personal—the Spanish Civil War, the World War, the move to Bread Loaf—, tuberculosis fastened its hold upon him, and he could not shake it. During one winter he tried a cure at the sanatorium in Pittsford, Vermont, but was unhappy there. He was relieved of most of his teaching during the winter session after 1944, and devoted his entire attention to the summer school. His and my former pupil, Samuel Guarnaccia, graduate of the college in 1930, M.A., 1936, was appointed to the winter college Spanish Department in 1940. He was on leave of absence in the U.S. Navy 1945-1946; and upon his return, he was named Dean of the Spanish School in 1947.

Centeno and Guarnaccia worked together in complete harmony. Guarnaccia relieved him of much of the administrative routine, especially during the summer. Centeno remained the chief, made all the decisions and set the policies. He became progressively weaker; at times he worked from his bed, dictating letters and giving instructions to his wife Catherine, or to Guarnaccia. He maintained his courage and his cheerful manner to the end. When I would go to see him in his home, he would respond to my "And how are you this morning?" with a wan but cordial smile—"*Pretty* well." We both knew that he was not well at all. He died quietly on June 19, 1949, twelve days before the beginning of the session, having completed all the plans and mapped the whole program in detail.

A pall hung over the entire campus. For nineteen years, Juan Centeno had been not only the head of the Spanish School, he was its central spirit. He created its atmosphere and gave it a personality. There was none of the flamboyance of the Lacalle regime, with its occasional squabbles and even minor scandals. Centeno led a school characterized by quiet earnestness and high purposefulness, dedicated to serving the students and to representing the dignity of Spanish culture. With calm and even-handed diplomacy, he imbued complete faith in every member of his staff and in every student. Never was a leader more modest and unassuming, and at the same time more effective. He had a genius for instilling confidence and loyalty. He became a focal point for the elite of the Hispanic world, though he himself disclaimed any such standing. Faculty and students who were not already his personal friends on arrival soon became and remained warm friends thereafter. Firm in executive decision, patient in administrative detail, intensely sensitive by temperament, but seldom losing his outward composure, he was unusually endowed to direct a group of traditionally mercurial Latins. Their great grief over his loss was the measure of their love for him. Even in the other language schools that summer, people who did not know him were conscious that the college had suffered a grievous loss. The character of the Spanish School still remains to a great degree the creation of Juan Centeno.

THE LANGUAGE SCHOOLS COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES, 1937
Left to right: Juan Centeno, Pedro Salinas, Alexander Hohlfeld, Pres. Paul Moody, Miss Gabriella Bosano, Georges Ascoli, Vincent Guilloton, Stephen Freeman, Ernst Feise, Werner Neuse

THE BUILDERS

The German School

Ernst Feise, 1931-1948

The Middlebury Idea, initiated and developed by Dr. Lilian Stroebe during the three summers of the German School 1915-17, had proven successful. Even though the school was discontinued because of the war hysteria, the idea was given continuous operation in the French and Spanish Schools. It is surprising therefore that twelve years were allowed to elapse after the end of the war, before a move was made to reinstate the German School. The teaching of German was slow in returning to the nation's high schools; but the chief reason for the delay seems to have been the lack of space on the Middlebury campus, since all the existing dormitories were filled by the French and Spanish Schools. In the meantime, Mt. Holyoke College, at the urging of Professor Alice Stevens, had invited Miss Stroebe in 1928 to bring "her" German School there. For three summers, 1928-1930, she "conducted the school there on the same lines as formerly in Middlebury."

The first public announcement of the reopening of the Middlebury German School was made in the *Campus* on November 19, 1930. A separate bulletin on the German School was published in April 1931. Credit for the first initiative seems to go to Professor Everett Skillings of the German Department, who knew Dr. Stroebe and about her school at Mt. Holyoke. He and President Moody discussed the matter, and Skillings suggested, as Director, Professor Ernst Feise whom he knew through the Modern Language Association. Skillings was named Dean, and took charge of publicity, admission of students, and material arrangements. He was present at the school during the summer, but did no teaching.

Ernst Feise was the creative spirit of the re-born school. After completing his Ph.D. at Leipzig in 1908, he taught at the University of Wisconsin until 1917, spent a few years in Mexico City as director of a German School there; taught at Ohio State, and went to the Johns Hopkins University in 1927. He was widely known for his books and articles on Goethe, and was active in modern language teachers' groups. An unusual combination of scholar and engaging personality, he had a large frame, jovial and vivacious manner, and a hearty laugh that carried far. He enjoyed activity of all sorts, from group discussions and musical concerts to hikes and picnics. His energy and enthusiasm stimulated a ready response in the school, which became characterized by jolly and colorful group activities, as well as by high academic quality.

The school was clearly a continuation of Dr. Stroebe's pre-war ideas and procedures, but her name is not mentioned in the first (1931) bulletin of the school, perhaps because she was still directing the school at Mt. Holyoke. The text of the bulletin avoids the wording of Miss Stroebe's bulletins, drawing rather from the wording of the French and Spanish School bulletins. It speaks of "the segregating of students pursuing a foreign language; the concentration of the work of a student upon a single language; exclusive use of the foreign language inside and outside of the classroom: the housing of students apart from those using any other language; constant practice in hearing, speaking and reading the foreign language; instruction in small groups by native teachers; thorough preparation of language teachers. . . ."

The bulletin also noted that "in Germany, epoch-making social and political changes are taking place, giving rise to new movements in art, literature and philosophy. The United States is taking cognizance of these changes as revealed in teaching and in publishing of textbooks; and both in high schools and colleges the study of German is regaining its old place."

The teaching faculty of the school numbered five besides Dr. Feise, four of whom were destined to serve the school for many years. Most notable was Werner Neuse, a young man who had just completed his Ph.D. degree at the University of Giessen. He was at that time instructor at the University of Wisconsin. Professor Alexander Hohlfeld of Wisconsin recommended him to Dr. Feise, who appointed him at once, little knowing that the appointment would last for 37 years.

Other long term members of the faculty were Robert Röseler, Ph.D., Ohio State University, and Assistant Professor there after much teaching experience in Germany, Mexico and Milwaukee; Friedrich Wilhelm Kaufman, Ph.D., University of Chicago, and Assistant Professor at Smith College after teaching in Germany and Illinois; and Fritz Otto Tiller, a young exchange student from Berlin to Middlebury College and a talented violinist. He received his Master's degree from Middlebury in 1932.

The curriculum likewise resembled the French School offerings more than the German curriculum of 1915-17. Intermediate Composition and Conversation courses were still important, but there were four well-elected courses in literature: Goethe, and Literature of the 19th Century, taught by Feise; Drama of the 19th Century, by Neuse; and the Short Story, by Kaufman. German civilization formed the subject matter for an advanced course in speaking and writing. Dr. Röseler introduced a thorough course on the Teaching of German. It may be concluded that the school in 1931 enrolled a higher proportion of teachers of German, better prepared in the language, and more interested in literature, civilization and teaching methods. Forty-three students enrolled, six men and 37 women. Only seven were undergradua[illegible]

After much study and planning, it was deci[illegible]o locate the school at Bristol, Vermont, twelve miles northeast of Midd[illegible]here was little or no room on the Middlebury campus, and any crow[illegible]might have ruffled any remaining sensitivities between French and German nationals. Isolation and concentration were favored by locating in a separate village. Bristol, a charming New England village in the foothills of the Green Mountains, under the shadow of pretty Hogback Mt., and high Mt. Abraham beyond, offered seclusion and plenty of space. The headquarters were at the Bristol Inn, known for its gracious hospitality and excellent cuisine, under the management of Mr. and Mrs. Clement Burnham since 1906. A two-story annex to the north had been

ERNST FEISE
Director of the German Summer School, 1931-1948

added in 1930, providing space for the social center and the private dining hall of the school. All students and faculty ate together at tables where faculty members presided and stimulated conversation. On the other side of the lovely green Common, the Bristol High School was used for classrooms and offices. The Gymnasium served as a library and reading room, with the books, laboriously brought from the college library, arranged on the bleachers instead of shelves.

The students, except a few waiters, did not live in the rooms of the Inn, which was usually reserved for its guests, but in private homes. Mrs. Powell, Secretary of the Summer Session, arranged with a dozen ladies of the village to accept a few students or faculty members. Accommodations were modest, but generally satisfactory. The chief complaint was the necessity of sharing a bathroom, closets, and other facilities with the family and other guests. From the school's point of view, the chief disadvantage concerned the difficulty of isolation from English. The ladies of the village were most hospitable, and often welcomed the students home in the evening with a big piece of cake, coffee, and the expectation of a nice chat, in English of course.

The school opened on Monday July 6, 1931 for a six-weeks session. Dr. Feise, showing his customary diplomacy, had attended the general opening of the French and Spanish Schools in Mead Chapel the afternoon before, and had made a real hit by his address in flawless French. The school's opening exercises were held in the Bristol Inn Annex. The speakers were the German Consul-General from Boston, Herr von Tippelskirch, through whose influence important gifts of books and art reproductions had been made to the school; President Moody for the college; and Dr. Feise. Rules in regard to admission, courses, credits, and degrees were the same as for the two schools on campus. The unit fee of $180 covered all charges except room rent, which varied from $20 to $75 for the session, according to the quality of the room.

Dr. Feise's inventiveness and enthusiastic personality created at once an active extracurricular program. The school soon discovered the beautiful Bartletts Falls and pool just above the village, baptized it the "Wolfsschlucht", and swimming parties became popular. There was an exhibit of modern graphic art arranged through the Carl Schurz Foundation. Fritz Tiller gave the first in a long series of excellent violin concerts, to which the townspeople were invited. There was a Hans Sachs Evening with three plays in picturesque costume, occasioning much merriment. Feise began the custom of the Sunday morning Sonntagsandachten, presentations of literary, philosophical and ethical themes, at an hour not conflicting with the local church services. These "devotions" were continued in the school for many years. Above all, the students loved the peaceful green lawn behind the Inn, where they sat and studied, looking up at the beautiful vistas of the mountains and Bristol Notch.

The first session of the re-born Middlebury German School in Bristol set the basic pattern for the coming decade. The central faculty team of Feise, Röseler, Kaufman and Neuse remained constant for several years, and the standard curriculum varied chiefly in the selection of literary topics. Now that Miss Stroebe had magnanimously closed her school in Mt. Holyoke, and recommended Middlebury to her students, the 1932 bulletin named her with Dr. Collins as the founders. Professor Skillings continued as Dean through the summer of 1932, but resigned in order to go on sabbatical leave for the year 1932-33. Dr. Werner Neuse, who had been appointed Associate Professor at Middlebury College in the fall of 1932, was then named Assistant Director of the German School. The title was later changed to Dean. In 1932, Neuse brought with him his bride Eloise (Francke), M.A., University of Wisconsin. They lived in an apartment in Bristol during the summer, and Eloise shared actively and helpfully in the life of the school, never teaching, but usually acting as tablehead. Their four children were born during the Bristol era of the school, three of them in the busy month of July.

Neuse's administrative ability was a perfect complement to Ernst Feise. In many ways they made an ideally balanced team—Feise: imaginative, outgoing, innovative; Neuse: a prodigious worker, thorough, painstaking, a little cautious. Both were excellent scholars and had high ideals for the reputation of the school. Much of the success of the Bristol era is explained by the strong mutual admiration and cooperation of these two men.

The outstanding new feature of 1932 was the Demonstration Class, created by Professor Röseler. Working closely with the Bristol school authorities, he enrolled 27 pupils from the eighth and ninth grades in a class in beginning German. Most of them had had no foreign language. German was not offered in the Bristol schools. An hour a day of class instruction and a half hour of supervised study were given. The high school allowed a half-year credit. The class was taught in German, accustoming the pupils' ear from the very beginning and emphasizing the spoken word. By the end of the course, the pupils could sing five folk-songs, had an active vocabulary of about 250 words and a reading vocabulary of about 500 words contained in the twelve stories they had worked over.

For the German School, the class served as a laboratory of the procedures presented theoretically in the course of Methods. All students in that course were required to observe the demonstration class twice a week. Later, they were required to teach it once or twice. The class proved popular among the Bristol teen-agers, since they were also featured in the costumed folk-dancing and singing at the lawn-party, to which the townspeople were invited. In later summers, a second-semester class was added for the pupils of the previous summer, and then even a third-semester class which moved into higher levels of conversation, reading, and cultural material. The village was small, however, and before long the supply of available pupils was not adequate; demonstration classes were offered only in alternate years. After Professor Röseler, Professor Gaede and later Miss Ott had charge of the classes.

The Centennial of Goethe's death was recognized in 1932 by courses on *Faust* and Goethe's lyric poetry, taught by Feise. The bulletin was sprinkled with quotations from Goethe. There were several special lectures and recitations on Goethe, and a Goethe play was performed. Röseler expanded the attention given to Methods by adding a Critical Study of Textbooks. A "Bücherstube" or bookshop was added, enabling students to buy class texts and other books at reduced prices. Each year, there was the laborious chore of selecting books from the college library, trucking them to the Bristol Gymnasium, and arranging them on the bleachers there. Gifts of books were received from the German government and from German and American publishers. A course of Special Investigation was introduced in order to help candidates for the D.M.L. Of the 45 students enrolled, all but two were graduate students.

The courage which characterized the reopening of the German School in the depression years was fully justified. The low point of 38 was touched in 1933, a smaller proportionate drop than the other schools, rebounding to 53 and 58 in the following summers. The number of paying auditors (non-credit students) also increased to 16. The pressure of student demand forced an increase in the curriculum. The standard offering became four courses in literature, one or two in civilization, along with phonetics, written and oral language practice, the methods course, two or three levels of the demonstration class, special investigation, and individual coaching. The basic faculty of four could not cope with such a program. Wilhelm Gaede, Ph.D., University of Münster, director of various educational institutions in Prussia until 1933, came from Swarthmore College in 1935.

The increase of enrollment and curriculum put pressure on other facilities. Mrs. Feise, official hostess for the school, was a marvel of diplomacy in ministering to the needs of the students. She personally checked the rooms rented for the students in the village, suggested remedies for inadequacies, and reported rooms that for various reasons should not be used. She worked closely and tactfully with Mr. and Mrs. Burnham in regard to the meals and the student waiters and waitresses. The pressure on the classrooms at the Bristol High School created problems not so easily solved. The building was antiquated and in poor condition. Some of the desk chairs were too small for adults and were screwed to the floor. There were no screens in the windows. Neuse had to use a classroom for an office. The janitor, although well paid, was uncooperative in regard to lights and cleaning.

Dr. Feise succeeded completely in his ideal of an intimate "Arbeitsgemeinschaft" or a community of work and play in German, from the very first session. As he gathered experience, the tempo of life at the school was stepped up. Breakfast was served at 6:30; classes began at 7:30, and continued without a break for five hours, until 12:30. The only class scheduled in the afternoon was the demonstration class. Folksongs were sung for half an hour after lunch and dinner. Some special event was arranged for nearly every day. There were evening lectures Tuesdays and Thursdays; services every Sunday morning; and at least two evenings of plays during the session. Sometimes the dramatics were held outdoors on the lawn. "Potato" plays were especially popular. Feise taught the students how to make puppets out of potatoes, with fascinating and amusing results. Tiller developed a school chorus, as well as a string quartet, and presented excellent programs on many Thursday evenings.

On Saturdays the whole school went on an excursion, to Table Rock, to Lake Dunmore, to Lake Champlain, to Mount Philo, or Mount Mansfield. The Mount Mansfield trip became at one time a two-day trip for the entire school, going by truck or private car. Some hiked up from Smugglers Notch. The faculty stayed in the little hotel on the ridge; students stayed in two-bunk rooms or camped out. Feise was the leader and chief entertainer, with stories, and group singing.

The most distinctive activity of the German School was its folk-dancing. As early as 1933, Miss Gertrud Rieschke organized instruction in folk-dances for students and the demonstration class pupils. Two programs were given, one at the Dog Team (then in Ferrisburg) at the invitation of Sir Wilfred and Lady

THE BRISTOL INN ANNEX, BRISTOL, VERMONT
Home of the German School, 1931-1950; the insignia of the Goslar Fountain stands at the entrance

Grenfell; and a larger one on the lawn of the Bristol Inn, before the school and many villagers. The next summer, Miss Nita Willits presented a fine program on the Inn lawn, by the light of Chinese lanterns. From then on, each summer, there were folk-dancing sessions on the lawn twice a week after dinner. A grand Folk-Festival was held on the lawn in the last week of school. The village children dressed in dirndl costumes and lederhosen, and paraded around the village green. Sometimes the students danced square dances, the girls in long full dresses and the boys in cutaway coats and stiff white collars. Tiller's mixed chorus sang folk songs.

In 1933, three students completed their Master of Arts degree, which was awarded at the regular Language Schools Commencement in Mead Chapel. When they returned to Bristol, they were surprised to be met by the whole school on the common, with Chinese lanterns and a trumpeter from the village band. They were marched to the Inn where they were awarded the "Order of the Goslar Fountain." This fountain is the picturesque ornament of the main square in Goslar, not far from Feise's native town of Braunschweig in Saxony. A stylized representation of it was used as an emblem of the German School, like the loaf of bread at Bread Loaf, to adorn the post at the entrance to the Inn Annex, and became the familiar seal on the school's bulletins.

The Magisterfeier became a regular custom. First there was a special dinner on the lawn, at which the M.A. candidates sat with the faculty. After the exercises at Middlebury, the new graduates were met by the whole school and conducted solemnly to the Inn lawn, where in a large circle lighted only by torches, Dr. Feise addressed them. He bestowed on each one the "Order of the Fountain", with a gilded medallion of the Goslar fountain, and a document engrossed in medieval German, and signed by each member of the faculty. On the last day of school, there was a Schlussfeier or Closing Celebration of great gaiety with music and song, a program which often included puppet parodies of the school by Feise and a review diary of the session by Neuse.

Relations with the people of Bristol were excellent. In a small New England village, the advent of a "foreign" school, bringing advantage to some and making unexpected demands on others, was fraught with possibilities of misunderstanding and friction. The wisdom, diplomacy and good humor of both Ernst and Dorothy Feise succeeded in smoothing the rough spots. The demonstration class was a masterly stroke. It was a real addition to the curriculum, and at the same time, it gave many Bristol children excellent instruction free in a subject not offered in the local school. The instruction in folk-dancing was also much appreciated. The Bristol children enjoyed the fun; their parents helped make dirndl dresses and lederhosen, and beamed their approval at the parades and exhibitions. The villagers were cordially invited to the festivals, plays and concerts, and many came. For several summers, the Bristol Chamber of Commerce donated $100 toward the purchase of a grand piano for the school.

With the rise of Hitler and Nazism in Germany in 1933, another possible source of deep trouble appeared. American public opinion against Hitler crystallized rapidly, and Bristol opinion did not lag behind. Again, Feise's wisdom and diplomacy succeeded in persuading Bristol citizenry that anti-Nazism was not necessarily anti-German. He and his faculty were definitely and honestly anti-Nazi. Before the outbreak of the war in September 1939, he could not have made an open break with the German government and its consulates in this country which had been generous with scholarships and gifts of books. Feise adopted the wise course of making clear to all concerned, students and villagers, that the Middlebury German School was not an agent of any government or party. He reiterated that the German humanists, especially Goethe, exalted the individual, his value and his rights, over those of the state; that the best of German literature is a study of man. He avoided the use of the black, white, red banner of the German Reich, choosing instead as the emblem of the school the "Schöne Brunnen" Goslar Fountain.

Beginning in 1934, the annual bulletin announced a rotating cycle of courses in literature and civilization, in addition to the basic yearly courses in language. The small school could not offer a wide selection each year, but had to present variety, especially for the degree candidates. A four-year rotation in literature, and a three-year rotation in civilization were therefore announced in advance, and adhered to, with minor variations occasioned by faculty changes. Survey courses in literature covering the different periods were offered, one or two each year, along with studies of individual authors or genres: Schiller, and Nineteenth Century Fiction were given in 1934 and again in 1938; Goethe's Novels, Modern Fiction, and Modern Drama in 1935; Lessing and Herder, Kleist, Grillparzer and Hebbel in 1936; Goethe's *Faust*, Lyric Poetry, and Types of the Drama in 1937. The civilization courses had a three-year rotation: German Folk-lore in 1934 and 1937; Art in 1935 and 1938; History in 1936 and 1939, and so on.

The school had its first Guest Professor in 1937, the distinguished Alexander Hohlfeld, Chairman of the German Dept. at Wisconsin since 1901; former President of the Modern Language Association and of the American Association of Teachers of German; prolific writer on the German classics. He taught two courses, the Classical Period, and *Faust*. The degree of Doctor of Letters, honoris causa, was conferred on him at the August Commencement, along with Pedro Salinas and Georges Ascoli. A dinner in Bristol that evening in his honor was attended by guests who included Miss Lilian Stroebe and Miss Marian Whitney. Dr. Hohlfeld undoubtedly attracted students to Bristol, and much favorable comment was received from language circles. The enrollment was up to 57, of whom only six were undergraduates. Men numbered 20, a considerable gain; 21 states were represented.

The summer of 1939 was a high point and also a tragic one. Total enrollment reached 66; men numbered 23; there were 13 high-quality undergraduates. The younger average age of the student body showed itself in greater enthusiasm for folk dances and singing. Tragedy struck on July 26 when Dr. Martin Sommerfeld, the Visiting Professor, succumbed to a sudden heart attack at the age of 45. A graduate of the University of Munich, he had taught in Germany and at Columbia; and was appointed Professor at Smith College in 1935. In the few weeks at Bristol, he had already made himself much admired and loved. The shock was a grievous one to the whole school; and immediately a memorial scholarship was created.

With the growth of the school and of its program of events, the little Social

they wished; they were immediately available to the students when needed, with just the right atmosphere of individuality and informality.

Two weeks after the 1939 session closed, Hitler's troops invaded Poland and World War II began. Everyone recognized that the school's existence was threatened, and wondered if it would again succumb to war psychosis. The Bristol landladies were worried about their reservations. But circumstances were different this time. The school had accumulated momentum and strong support. By his wise official policy and personal contacts, Feise had succeeded in establishing the school, both in university circles and among the Bristol villagers, as a bona fide educational institution, for humanistic and language studies, opposed to Nazism and not a propaganda center, and with a clear value for America, especially in war-time. In 1942, West Point began sending officers to study. President Moody and trustees Albert Mead and Redfield Proctor of the Language Schools Committee, visited the school regularly and expressed their support. During the anxious months of the autumn and winter of 1942, as Acting President, I did everything possible to guarantee the school's continuance.

Enrollments inevitably declined, down to 49 in 1940 and 1941, to a low point of 31 in 1942, and 38 in 1943. College calendars were changed; three-term schedules instituted; teachers were not released; men were drafted. Surprisingly, the proportion of undergraduates to graduate students, and of men to women, remained approximately the same.

Changes had to be made in the faculty. Young Oskar Seidlin, Ph.D., University of Basel, Lecturer at Smith College, had on short notice replaced his former teacher Dr. Sommerfeld, after the sudden death of the latter. He was added to the faculty in 1940 and 1941, teaching courses in the modern novel. Professor Charles M. Purin was the Visiting Professor in 1940, a leader in modern language circles, author of the "Study" *Report on the Training of Modern Foreign Language Teachers,* teacher and administrator at the University of Wisconsin. The budget was considerably aided by grants from the Henry Janssen Foundation, enabling the school to bring Dr. Franz Rapp of the Munich Theatre Museum, and the Theatre Department of the New York Public Library, in 1941; and in 1942, Dr. Wolfgang Stechow, concert pianist, and Professor of Fine Arts at Oberlin. Dr. Stechow returned to the school frequently in later years, always delighting the school with scholarly lectures, masterly recitals, and generous participation in the musical activities.

Another new teacher, destined to become a member of the Old Guard, was Arno Schirokauer. Ph.D., University of Munich, philologist and literary historian, he had been connected with the German Broadcasting Company, and was doing research at Yale. The faculty of 1942, besides Feise and Neuse, included Drs. Gaede, Stechow and Schirokauer, Mr. Tiller, with Miss Stockhausen in charge of folk-dancing.

An interesting side-light on Bristol in war-time occurred at the annual Folk Festival in August. The demonstration class pupils participated with the students in the parade and in the German folk-dances and singing. It was attended by about 200 spectators. On another evening, the school's musicians, Stechow, Tiller and Miss Seifert joined with the local U.S.O. Committee for a concert, attended by 150 people, which netted $85 for the U.S.O. Fund.

In 1943, the faculty was cut to the bone—only four regular members: Feise, Neuse, Gaede and Schirokauer. Dr. Rapp gave a series of lectures on art and stagecraft, under the Janssen Grant. The burden on the four teachers was extremely heavy. Dr. Neuse could give only half-time, as he was also teaching in the college's summer term then in session on the campus. The problems were greatly increased by the fact that the students were no longer homogeneous, but fell into three distinct groups. The six officers from West Point (three lieut. colonels, a major and two captains) were concerned with a maximum of linguistic training and factual information. The 17 undergraduates were highly qualified, but still primarily interested in language practice. The 21 graduates sought a humanistic education in literature and culture. All three groups had to be satisfied, partly at the cost of compromise, but often by an unusual amount of individual tutoring outside of class, even with the assistance of faculty wives.

Since its reopening in 1931, the German School had published its own separate spring bulletin, attractively illustrated with pictures of the faculty, the location at Bristol, the plays, dances and hikes. The medallion of the Goslar Fountain usually adorned the cover. Beginning in 1938, the German School bulletin and publicity were combined with the other summer language schools, not only to save expense, but especially to give the German School the widest possible coverage in university and high school circles. For three years, the German School was placed at the end of the bulletin, retaining its separate identity from the Romance Language Schools of French, Italian and Spanish. Beginning with the 1941 bulletin, the four schools were presented in alphabetical order. In 1945, the Russian School was added. The complete bulletin covering all five schools was thereafter sent in March to all departments in thousands of high schools and colleges, in the expectation that department heads of French or Spanish would also recommend the Schools of German or Italian or Russian to interested persons, and vice versa.

The tide that had ebbed so suddenly turned to a flood tide with even more suddenness. Enrollment rose from 38 to 71 in 1944, and to 73 in 1945, holding at about that level for three more summers, then rising to 84 in 1949 and 1950. As Dr. Feise said in his report, "there seems to be no reasonable explanation." Several factors or circumstances may be identified. German had not been banished from the schools. Many teachers of French and German converted to Spanish, but the panic of World War I had been avoided, and good sense taught that the German language would be useful after the war.

By 1944 the crisis had passed, optimism was returning, and public opinion was already considering post-war reconstruction and reconciliation. Not only the language, but an understanding of the culture and institutions of Germany would be essential. The United States government continued to send students: five officers from West Point in the 1944 session. The conclusion of the war and the return of peace would call for many informed people: technicians, diplomats, businessmen, trained especially in the spoken language. Middlebury was nationally known as the exponent of oral proficiency, as against the "reading method", now thoroughly discredited. Middlebury's "intensive training" and the idea of "living the language" were in harmony with the war-time slogan "time is of the essence", and also with the ideal of international understanding.

With judicious caution, Neuse accepted well-qualified undergraduates from the better women's colleges during the later war years. In 1944, of the 71 students, 34 were undergraduates and 59 were women. In 1945, of the 73 students, 30 were undergraduates and 61 were women; all 30 undergraduates were women.

Then in 1946 the situation changed rapidly again with the return from Europe of the veterans, supplied with tuition and living costs under the G.I. Bill, and eager to develop usefully their somewhat superficial introduction to the German language. Of the 69 students in 1946, 31 or nearly half were men; 16 were veterans. In 1947, of the 74 students enrolled, 39 or more than half were men; 24 were veterans. In 1948, of 82 students enrolled, 46 were men, 27 of these were veterans. All the schools benefitted from the influx of veterans; the German and Russian Schools distinguished themselves by enrolling far more men than women for many years.

The summer of 1944 was a strange, exceptional summer. The unexpectedly large enrollment, more than double the previous summer, required the last-minute addition of new courses and the recruiting of new teachers: Professor Harry Steinhauer of the University of Manitoba; Ernst Loewenberg of the Groton School; and Miss Helen Ott, formerly teacher of the demonstration class, who served as tutor and coach for students with special deficiencies, and as a sort of Dean of Women for the large number of undergraduate girls. Seven advanced

Folkdancing by students of the German Summer School in Bristol students carried on special investigations under the direction of Professors Gaede and Schirokauer.

The highlight of the session was the special Convocation held on July 27 in the decorated Gartensaal, at which Fräulein Lilian L. Stroebe received the degree of Doctor of Pedagogy, honoris causa. The session, a really glorious achievement in war-time, came to a rather inglorious anti-climax with an epidemic of the mumps. Seven students, two men and five women, were taken ill and had to be quarantined. The kitchen service was in danger of being disrupted; and it was decided to close the school four days early. Special shortened examinations were given, and all students received full credit for their work.

The basic pattern of the school saw a number of modifications in the summers of 1945 to 1948, caused by the war and post-war circumstances. The student enrollment of 82 taxed beyond capacity the usual accommodations of the village. The return home to Bristol of the soldiers and war workers in 1946 reduced considerably the number of available rooms. The college provided 15 beds to relieve the shortage. In one house, six men shared a suite of rooms formerly occupied by under-privileged boys. Another house was sold and vacated by the owner in mid-summer, leaving two students with only a bed and a chair each. Neuse's resourcefulness and persuasion accomplished miracles, but he still had to refuse 85 applicants for lack of space. This in turn generated talk about moving the school to another location.

The Inn felt a severe strain on its kitchen and dining services. War-time shortages of foods were compounded by lack of help. Since less profit was derived from the students, per unit, than from transient guests now returning, members of the school sometimes felt like second-class boarders. Yet, in his 1947 report, Feise wrote that in spite of all minor difficulties, the village and the Inn were still the ideal location, for the school and especially for its extracurricular activities. He and some of the businessmen talked of forming a housing committee which would attempt to find and inspect an adequate number of places to house a school of a hundred.

Changes occurred in the faculty, since some of the Old Guard were not released by their colleges or had other urgent assignments. The doubling of enrollment required a faculty of nine or ten. In 1945, Drs. Rapp, Schirokauer and Steinhauer returned; new was the Visiting Lecturer Victor Zuckerkandl, a Viennese choir conductor and music critic. He and Dr. Rapp organized a splendid series of illustrated lectures, three nights a week, on the German opera, its music, art and staging. The students gave a performance of Brecht-Weil's opera *Der Ja-sager*. Similar importance was given to music in 1946 by the return of Dr. Stechow and his special lecture series on "Hausmusik from Bach to Brahms."

In spite of changes in the faculty, Feise was able to make his curriculum conform to the rotating study plan as announced, with four courses each year in period or genre literature, and two courses in civilization. Each summer offered the seminar in Special Investigation, a course in phonetics, and frequently an History of the German Language. The basic courses in written and oral practice were given each year, divided into sections according to enrollment.

The new faculty members of 1947 were Dr. Bernhard Blume of Ohio State

University, Dr. William Sundermeyer of Gettysburg College, and Dr. Werner Vordtriede of Princeton University. The program returned to Early German Literature, Survey of the 19th Century, Schiller, Lyric Poetry, Modern Fiction, and the History of German Art. The course in Methods, cancelled during the war, was given by Dr. Sundermeyer to a large enrollment indicating a strong professional interest among the students. The evening lecture series was a general Survey of German Civilization.

Illness struck the leader in 1947. Dr. Feise, nearing retirement age, overworked the year around, anxious about his wife who had not completely recovered from a serious illness, had a slight stroke on July 12. It became wise for him to give up his active duties and his classes. Dr. Neuse took over his administrative responsibilities. Professor Steinhauer, who was vacationing in Connecticut agreed to come up and teach one of his classes. Feise remained in Bristol on a reduced schedule, seeing students in his little chicken-coop house until the end of the session, when he and Mrs. Feise went to their usual summer home on an island in Lake Winnepesaukee.

He made a good recovery during the winter and remained in full charge of plans and arrangements for the faculty and courses for 1948. Dr. Sundermeyer was named Assistant to the Director in order to relieve him of some of the pressure. New teachers in the faculty of nine were Dr. Hilde Cohn of Bryn Mawr, and Dr. Norbert Fuerst of Indiana University. Tiller returned, also Stechow who again delighted the school with his illustrated evening lectures on Sonatas from Haydn to Hindemith.

Dr. Feise was announced in the March 1948 bulletin as still the Director of the German School. Continuing fatigue made it clear, however, that the pressure of the summer would be too great for him. In May, he reluctantly decided to remain at Winnepesaukee. Neuse became Acting Director for the summer, assuming full charge, with the assistance of Sundermeyer. On October 9, 1948, Feise tendered his formal resignation.

Middlebury College and its German School owe a great debt of gratitude to Ernst Feise. For eighteen years, seventeen summers, he gave himself unreservedly, enthusiastically, to forming and guiding a very special kind of school. Miss Stroebe had set the definition of a segregated, intensive language school. Dr. Feise made of it a high-class graduate school, taught by university professors; and at the same time a joyous, fun-loving, enthusiastic group. Dignified middle-aged high school teachers, persuaded by his booming laugh and his personal leadership, discovered that they could participate in and enjoy folk-dances, puppet shows, and mountain hikes. They found that the easiest way to learn German was to laugh in it. His ingenuity and inventiveness were amazing, in curriculum content and in educational procedures, as well as in extracurricular activities. His diplomacy with individualistic professors or with timid or unhappy students was no less skillful. His keen personal interest in music, art and the theatre made the German School outstanding in this respect.

He was greatly aided by his wife Dorothy, who shared his ideas and goals. As hostess for the school, she helped to guide its social life, and acted as counsellor for students. With great tact, she became a friend of the women of the village, inspected the rented rooms and arbitrated complaints. She was especially diplomatic in dealing with the Burnhams of the Bristol Inn, arranging the best possible board and facilities for the students.

In many ways, the German School was unique, different from the other language schools, the creation of Feise's special combination of talents and interests, and the mirror of his personality. Mrs. Feise wrote to me: "One of the students spoke of 'the great influence of Bristol on my whole life; the appreciation of German art, music, literature and culture; the closeness to nature, the spirit'. . . . And it would be hard to exaggerate the richness of those years of work and play in the little village we loved so much, where all the resources of a warm endowment in Ernst's character were allowed full play."

The college did not delay in expressing its gratitude. At its Commencement on August 15, 1949, President Stratton conferred upon Ernst Feise the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters, with the following citation, in part ". . . It was your constructive initiative which fashioned [the German School]; your professional ability and prestige set its high academic standards; your skillful choice of faculty and students developed its world-wide reputation; and your genuine graciousness and sympathetic understanding have given the school an atmosphere of cordiality and friendliness. . . ."

Dr. Feise enjoyed reasonably good health after his retirement from Middlebury, and continued to teach at the Johns Hopkins University. He retired from the University in June 1953, but maintained an active life. He taught for a year at Whittier College and then for five years as Visiting Lecturer at Goucher College. Even a severe automobile accident could not keep him from his teaching duties, sometimes meeting student classes in his home. An authority on Goethe, he lectured frequently before Goethe groups. Besides his teaching and lecturing, he completed his metrical translations of Heine, and friends underwrote the publication of *Heinrich Heine, Lyric Poems and Ballards.* Other colleagues presented him with the publication of a collection of his essays *Xenion: Themes, Forms and Ideas in German Literature.* He worked assiduously on his favorite theme, an analysis of metrics, and prepared for the press an insightful study called *Kleine Verslehre.* His last months were spent on his lovely island in Lake Winnepesaukee where he died quietly on June 16, 1966, shortly after his 82nd birthday.

THE BUILDERS

The Italian School

Miss Gabriella Bosano, 1932 - 1938

Camillo Merlino, 1938 - 1947

"For the last two years at least, a need has been strongly felt for an Italian School at Middlebury. We have had many requests from resident students and through the mails. I am convinced that it would be an easy matter for me to transform one of the smaller dormitories into a 'Casa Italiana' where the students could have Italian conversation. . . . The creation of the German School makes the idea more urgent. The presence of some Italian teaching would complete the modern language cycle at Middlebury, and answer an absolute need for our candidates to the doctorate. I respectfully urge the Trustees to take the matter under consideration." So wrote André Morize in his report to President Moody at the close of the French Summer School in August 1931.

He and I had discussed the idea several times, and particularly during the summer of 1931. We concluded that rather than recommend a fully independent school, it would be better at the start to offer a Casa Italiana and a few courses, under the sponsorship of the French School. The rebirth of the German School was a real success in 1931, even though it required a subsidy; but the situation was different in Italian. The Italian language was taught in very few secondary schools in this country. Even in New York City, with its large Italian population, only about two percent of the senior high school population was enrolled in Italian classes in 1931, compared to 44% in French and 11% in German. The demand for instruction in Italian came, not so much from teachers of Italian, as from teachers and students of other modern languages who wished a "minor", from graduate students in the arts, music, literature and philology, and from doctoral candidates. It appeared also that the French and Spanish Schools, then alone on the campus, would be enriched by the presence of a sister Romance language.

President Moody liked the idea, and for a time seemed inclined to go beyond Morize's modest proposal. He was approached by university professors of Italian, eager to become the director of a new Middlebury school. The Summer Session Committee of the trustees also favored an independent unit. Vigorous discussions went on during October and November regarding the merits of the various plans and candidates. It was not until mid-December, 1931, that the matter was settled. Morize was requested to go ahead with our plan for a Casa Italiana, with a budget of $950, for two teachers and a program of four courses.

MISS GABRIELLA BOSANO
Director of the Italian Summer School, 1932-1938

The choice of a Director was crucial. Following a careful investigation, Morize offered the appointment to Miss Gabriella Bosano, Chairman of the Italian Department at Wellesley College. After an exchange of letters and two long interviews, he "obtained her consent, like a blushing fiancée." Miss Bosano had received her Doctorate in Modern Philology from the University of Bologna in 1916, and several teaching diplomas in Italy. She was named an honorary member of the Dante Alighieri Society. She taught in schools in Genoa; then came to this country in 1921, and taught in Vassar College for ten years, rising to the position of Acting Chairman of the Italian Department, before being appointed to the post at Wellesley. She was an excellent scholar, and had published many articles on Italian literature, literary criticism, and on the Italian language and Italian life in the United States.

Dr. Bosano selected as her assistant a brilliant young philologist, Louis Francis Solano, who had just received his Ph.D. from Harvard and had been appointed instructor and tutor there and at Radcliffe. He had studied in Italy, specializing in the phonology of Neapolitan. He taught the courses in grammar and composition on two levels. Dr. Bosano taught the oral course and the History of Italian Literature and Civilization, besides offering a seminar on Dante and His Time.

The administrative and material organization of the Casa was handled by me as a part of the French School. All matters of admission, credits and physical arrangements, as well as publicity, were my function. A leaflet was published immediately, in early January, supplement to the December 1931 Bulletin, announcing the new Casa Italiana. The principles of this new center were stated like those of the other Middlebury schools: segregation of students, exclusive use of Italian, instruction in small groups. No beginners were accepted; applicants must have a good reading knowledge of the language. Close cooperation with the French and Spanish Schools was featured. Regularly enrolled students in any of the schools could audit freely in any other school, or enroll for credit on payment of a nominal fee.

The regular March 1932 Bulletin, now headed "The Romance Language Schools", gave full coverage to the Casa Italiana, placed between the French and the Spanish sections. Preceded by a full-page picture of Dr. Bosano, the foreword spoke of the widespread interest of the United States in the Italian language and civilization since World War I; the large contribution of Italy to modern philosophy and science, as well as to art, music and literature; the centers of high Italian culture at Columbia, Berkeley, and elsewhere; and the increasing number of positions in schools, libraries, museums, tourist offices and banks open to students of Italian.

The first summer was a definite though modest success, vindicating both our initiative and our caution. Twenty-two students enrolled, eight of them jointly with the French or Spanish Schools; four men, 18 women. Classes were held in Old Chapel. The D.U. fraternity house was secured as the Casa's dormitory, dining hall, and center of its social life. Thirteen students lived there, all women, with Miss Bosano as hostess, social director, housemother. Following the pattern of the other schools, there was an active extracurricular program. Formal teas were held in the lounge; informal gatherings on the terrace in front of the house. On Monday evenings, groups read or acted plays; on Wednesdays Miss Bosano or Solano gave illustrated lectures on Italian life; Saturdays there were picnics and games. Solano was an accomplished musician, and led the singing after meals. The students were invited to attend the French concerts of chamber music. All the schools joined in general dancing at the McCullough Gymnasium on Friday evenings. On the last Friday of the session, before the Masquerade Ball, the Italian School performed a one-act comedy "Addio Giovinezza."

Dr. Bosano had been assured that within the overall administration of the French School, she had all possible independence, and she was encouraged to create the intellectual life and the atmosphere of the Casa as she chose. She threw herself into the task with an amazing enthusiasm, and charm. She had a dignified, rather aristocratic personality, combined with warmth and directness. She enchanted all her students, although they were sometimes a little awed by her grand manner. Her intelligence and good sense enabled her to comprehend at once the formula of Middlebury, and she put it into action with excellent effect. She was on good terms with the Italian Embassy, and secured much useful material from it. She recruited skillfully from Wellesley and Vassar. Her joyous energy made the Casa a real delight. Solano was in a sense the perfect foil for her—younger, quiet and soft-spoken, even taciturn, perhaps a little timid; but he was genuine, and rewarding when he was drawn out.

The session of 1933 showed positive growth. Dr. Bosano cancelled her plan to spend the summer in Italy with her aged mother, in order to assure the continuity of the Casa. She was able to attract to her faculty Dr. Franco Bruno Averardi, a brilliant lecturer on Italian art and literature. He had occupied important posts in the League of Nations, and was then teaching at Wellesley. He taught a course in Renaissance art and one in prose style. A third member was added, Michele Cantarella, a likeable young instructor in Smith College, a good mixer, who taught the intermediate grammar course, and a class for beginners which was open only to French and Spanish School students. He returned regularly as a member of the faculty through the summer of 1937, teaching cultural courses, and was particularly skillful in the language classes.

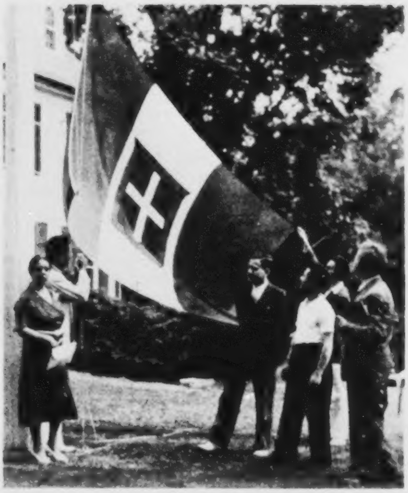
The enrollment rose to 38, four men and 34 women. Twenty of the enrollees came over from the other schools. The Casa moved to the DKE fraternity house, which offered better accommodations for the school on more favorable terms. Fifteen women lived there with Miss Bosano; two men students lived with Averardi on the second floor of Hepburn Hall. A highlight of the session was the staging of *Cavalleria Rusticana* in costume. To introduce Miss Bosano to the college alumni, the September 1933 *News Letter* carried an article by her on the Italian poet Ariosto, on the 400th anniversary of his death.

The Casa Italiana attained the stature of the German and Spanish Schools in 1934, with an enrollment of 50, compared with 53 and 52 respectively in those schools. While it is true that 17 were likewise enrolled in the French or Spanish Schools, it was often the case that these students' chief interest was Italian, though their fluency was not sufficient to live in the Casa. Another indication of growth was the larger number of men, thirteen. The Casa and social center was again the DKE House, but the fourth floor of Hepburn Hall was also taken over. Three students' names catch our eye: Samuel Guarnaccia, later Dean of the Spanish School, and his sister Elizabeth; and Anna Spinale, later the wife of Camillo Merlino.

A notable addition to the faculty was Uguccione Ranieri di Sorbello, a colorful and spirited young man of the Italian aristocracy, Doctor of Laws from the University of Rome, then instructor at Yale, a man of many talents. He taught a new course on Modern Italy in Word and Thought. He returned to Middlebury in 1935 and 1936, and later became Cultural Attaché of Italy in New York. He was the prime mover in securing government scholarships for our students. In 1960 when arrangements were being made for our Graduate School in Florence, di Sorbello, then back in Rome at the Foreign Office, was again of inestimable help. Louis Solano returned, shared with the other schools, giving an advanced course in Romance Linguistics. Five teachers offered a curriculum of eight courses.

The college administration decided that the Casa Italiana had won the right to be called a School, and in the publicity of 1935 it was so announced. A large eye-catching poster was distributed in the winter, in which, below pictures of Carcassonne, Bremen, Siena and Granada, Dr. di Sorbello was quoted as saying in an article in *Atlantica,*—"In many ways, going to Middlebury is like going abroad . . . with this difference: once on the continent most Americans are so alone in purpose and find it so difficult to scrape up a conversation with busy foreigners, that mentally and linguistically they at once return home." The poster continued—"The Italian School, with Dr. Gabriella Bosano of Wellesley as its directress and hostess, offers the opportunity of losing one's self in the atmosphere and charm of Italy. . . . Forgetting the very sound of English, one reads, speaks and thinks Italian; absorbing in the classroom or over the tea-table all that is best in the literature, art and civilization of Italy; all the age-old charm of Italian culture from Dante to d'Annunzio."

ITALIAN SCHOOL FACULTY, SUMMER OF 1935
Front row: Miss Bosano, Miss Savoia. Back row: Mr. Solano, Mr. Cantarella, Mr. di Sorbello



Raising the Italian flag in front of the DKE House

It was a persuasive offer, with the same fine faculty as the year before, and sufficient variation in the courses. Miss Bosano began the practice of dividing the study of Dante's *Divine Comedy*, presenting the *Inferno*, the *Purgatorio* and the *Paradiso* in three successive years, with credit for all three, a practice which continued for many years. Di Sorbello taught Classicism and Romanticism; Cantarella gave the Civilization as a separate course. Enrollment rose to 52, with 16 men, filling the DKE House, again the social center, and also the Jewett-Willcox House (with men), and most of the DU House. Miss Bosano lived in DKE; the dining room was in DU. Although it was now a full-fledged school, all student correspondence concerning admission, courses, credits and degrees was still addressed to me in the Château. I forwarded the application folders to Miss Bosano for her final decision; all course and instructional matters were handled by her. Letters concerning rooms were as usual directed to Mrs. P. S. Powell, who was still called Secretary of the Summer Session. The school celebrated its new status by awarding its first Master's degree, to Josephine F. Menotti. (Miss Marcia Sora, a student in the school, had received her M.A. in 1932, but most of her credits were in French.)

The distinguished Dr. Domenico Vittorini of the University of Pennsylvania was secured as Visiting Professor for the summer of 1936, attracting favorable attention by his new course on Contemporary Italian Literature. Miss Teresa Carbonara of Barnard College was engaged for the language classes and returned frequently during the next dozen years. When the French School moved out of Hillcrest into the big new Forest Hall, the Italian School moved in, forsaking DU and Willcox. Miss Bosano continued to live in DKE and made it the social center, but her office and the dining room were in Hillcrest. Di Sorbello gave an intriguing new course called the Craft of Writing.

Interesting developments occurred in 1937. Miss Bosano appointed as Visiting Professor Maestro Sandro Benelli, an elderly gentleman of warm, captivating personality. Musician, composer, lecturer, he had been director of church choirs in Italy and the United States, founder and director of the Florentine Choir, director of the Coro d'Italia at Columbia, of the Madrigal Singers in New York, and of the radio program of "Italian Folk Songs". He offered two new and popular courses: History of Italian Music, and the Teaching of Italian Folk Songs. He gave a major emphasis to music in the school's extracurricular activities, through a choir, and the general singing of folk songs. He returned regularly each summer until 1944, adored by the students, and making a most valuable contribution to the life of the school.

A young man named Salvatore J. Castiglione, with a B.A. from Yale and a brilliant record, candidate for the Ph.D. at Yale after a year of study in Florence, had enrolled as a student. He took two courses in music with Benelli. Miss Bosano had originally offered him part-time work as a secretary, but when di Sorbello, who had been announced, was unable to come, Castiglione was assigned to teach the course in Advanced Composition. He did so with great success, and was engaged as a regular member of the faculty in 1938 and 1939. Except for the war years, we have fortunately been able to hold him ever since.

Among notable student names of the summer of 1937 were Remigio Pane, later Chairman of Romance Languages at Rutgers; Mrs. Catherine Wolkonsky, later a member of the Russian School faculty; Rocco Mastrangelo whose services as a staff member in 1949, and untimely death are remembered in a memorial scholarship; Annunziata Costa, staff aid in 1938 and 1939, and a member of the faculty 1961-65; and Sarita Hopkins, whose splendid voice added so much to the singing.

The summer of 1937 was Miss Bosano's last summer on the campus. At great self-sacrifice, she had given up a prior commitment to spend the summers with her aged mother in Genoa, substituting brief visits instead. For the second semester of 1937-38, she had a sabbatical leave from Wellesley and urgently requested leave from Middlebury for the summer of 1938. She made all plans as usual during the winter, engaged the faculty and organized the courses. Most important, she gave careful reflection to the appointment of an Acting Director for the summer, recommending Professor Camillo Merlino of Boston University. Having sent me full information on the faculty and courses, with completed copy for the bulletin, she sailed on February 12, and stayed in Genoa.

In October, she sent to President Moody a warm but firm letter of resignation, indicating that she felt it was her duty to spend her summers with her mother, and do something to "improve her scholarship." She said she had done her part for seven years, and it would be "reasonable to give the chance to another distinguished teacher to do as much." Dr. Merlino made the annual Christmas reunion of the Italian School alumni in New York a formal farewell party for Miss Bosano. She told about her visit to Italy; and Merlino spoke and read letters of admiration and gratitude from many colleagues and friends. Our close collaboration had been a real joy for me. She had attended to all tasks, great and small, with the utmost promptness and patience; she was a remarkable combination of intelligence, enthusiasm, and courtesy.

At the Middlebury Commencement on August 14, 1950, President Stratton conferred on Gabriella Bosano the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters. The citation read, in part,—"Founder of our Italian Summer School, your vision, initiative and dynamic personality created the spirit of this school. . . . We honor also the leadership which you have given to Italian studies in this country, your important contributions to Italian scholarship, and the gracious personal charm which has merited the affectionate esteem of all your colleagues and of the teachers whom you have trained." Writing to Dr. Stratton of her gratitude, Miss Bosano said: "It is the realization of a dream I never dared dream, since Middlebury College is a school unique in the world of culture; Middlebury is an intelligent and peaceful world in itself, and I shall be happy and proud to belong to it." She continued to teach at Wellesley until her retirement in June 1952. She then returned to Genoa to live, and died there in September 1964.

Camillo Pascal Merlino, Acting Director and Visiting Professor of the Italian School for the summer of 1938, was the son of an Italian Protestant minister in the Boston area. He earned his A.B. degree from Harvard in 1923, where I knew him in class, then his A.M., and in 1928 his Ph.D. in Romance Languages. He studied in Italy, France and Spain; taught at Harvard, Michigan and elsewhere; and was then Professor of Romance Languages at Boston University. He had been Secretary-Treasurer of the American Association of Teachers of Italian since 1932; was Vice President for 1937 of the National Federation of Modern Language Teachers Associations; and author of several books and articles on Italian biography and bibliography. He was well-known and liked in Italian circles. Of dignified though cordial personality, and deeply religious nature, he was supremely conscientious and intensely serious. His dedication to the school and its development led him to become a close personal friend of

CAMILLO MERLINO
Director of the Italian Summer School, 1938-1947

every teacher and student. I found him even more meticulous than Miss Bosano in handling every detail of the school's organization. As a result, after a year of initiation, I gradually transferred all the administration into his hands in Boston, and all correspondence went directly to him. Room assignments remained in Mrs. Powell's charge.

The faculty of six and the curriculum of 1938, planned by Dr. Bosano, were strong. Merlino taught the Dante and Culture, Benelli his usual music and folk songs, Castiglione gave the Lyric Poetry and Intermediate Composition. The enrollment was 44 in the Italian School alone, plus 30 coming in from other schools, for a total of 74, a striking evidence of the viability of the school and the broad-based demand for its offerings.

Indicative of Merlino's efficiency was his initiation of an annual Report to the President, like the other schools. In it he commented on the record enrollment of men and the need for better housing of them, since five had to live in town; the need for more and better graded courses in the language. He expressed concern over the division of the school into two centers, at DKE and Hillcrest, and recommended strongly that the school be housed adequately in a single dormitory or center. He pointed to the importance of scholarships and other aids for the students. Three generous friends had contributed $575 for that purpose in 1938; Merlino urged an active campaign to interest Italian organizations and businessmen to establish scholarship funds. He took the lead in this effort.

The success of the school and the effectiveness of Merlino's direction left no doubt about the wisdom of appointing him as permanent Director; and this was done promptly in October 1938. In January 1939 he was married to Miss Anna Katherine Spinale who had been a student in the school in 1934, and was a graduate of Boston Teachers College. She became at once the charming hostess of the school and an intelligent counsellor for her husband. Merlino learned the routine fast, and aside from occasional conferences, I was able to set the former Casa Italiana entirely free of French School tutelage.

As his Visiting Professor for 1939, Merlino secured Renato Poggioli of the University of Florence, for a time at Prague and Warsaw, and then at Smith College; poet, essayist, and literary critic; a fine teacher and a cordial person. He taught Modern Italian Literature, and Italian Culture. Fun-loving Maestro Benelli was as popular as ever. His chorus of the Italian School serenaded the German School at Bristol; and later the German School reciprocated, with mutual songs, refreshments, and dancing on the lawn in front of Hillcrest. Salvatore Castiglione returned, teaching Poetry and Grammar. This time his wife, Pierina Borrani Castiglione, who had come to Middlebury with him as a June bride in the summer of 1938, was a member of the faculty in her own right. Doctor of Letters from the University of Florence, and with diplomas for teaching in Italy, she had taught there until 1935, and was currently teaching in Wellesley. Louis Solano and Teresa Carbonara completed the staff. The enrollment reached a high of 82, of whom 39 came from other schools. The 43 full-time Italian School students, 14 men (a record) and 29 women, were again housed in DKE where the Castigliones lived, and in Hillcrest where the Merlinos and Benelli lived.

Dr. Merlino's official report spoke especially of the popularity of Miss Carbonara's new course in Advanced Oral Practice; the new non-credit course in Methods of Teaching by a guest lecturer, Dr. Pietro Sammartino, later President of Fairleigh-Dickinson University; the difficulty for a small school to provide a sufficiently diversified and advanced curriculum to interest doctoral candidates; the lack of an adequate social hall; and the sad deterioration of DKE House. Among the students were such names as Maria Vulcano, James Ferrigno, Lawrence Bongiovanni, Carol Bogman, Matilda Romeo, who became leaders in their profession and loyal supporters of the alumni association.

The "war years" began with 1940, and brought many changes, some for the better, and some regretted. Gaetano Massa, a specialist in teaching-materials, editor of *Las Americas,* came as Visiting Professor in 1940, teaching Civilization, and returned in 1941 and 1942. Poggioli and Sammartino also returned in 1940. Poggioli taught Art and Drama. Sammartino's Teaching of Italian became a regular credit course. The Castigliones were absent until 1946, as he was needed for the ASTP program and the war schedule at Yale. Enrico Carbonara, of wide experience at the secondary level, brother of Teresa, was here in 1940-1942. Miss Carbonara added a new course in Oral Stylistics. Merlino, in the absence of Solano, gave From Latin to Italian, and had four students working on special projects in the Research course. Enrollments began to decline, slowly at first, then more rapidly as men went into service.

Hillcrest was particularly uncomfortable in 1940 because of the construction of Gifford Hall close by; but patience was rewarded, and the Italian School moved into the fine new dormitory in the summer of 1941, sharing it with the Spanish School. It gave the school everything it had longed for—unified geography, roomy dining hall, a fine social hall, and plenty of space to grow. The cohesion of the school was greatly increased and its activities favored by having its own center. Besides teas, dramatic readings, and dances, an Italian "Professor Quizz" was organized. Maestro Benelli gathered the school around him for lively periods of folksinging.

Unfortunately, the luxury of Gifford could not last. In 1942, the enrollment dropped to 33, and the war was bringing many dislocations. The school had to move back to Hillcrest, and take its meals in West Forest, across the street, invading the French area. Then in 1943, with the enrollment down to 20 full-time students, the school went back to "fraternity row", using DKE and Sigma Phi Epsilon Houses. The Spanish School had gone to Bread Loaf; the campus was full of English-speaking undergraduates and Navy boys. The change turned out to be a blessing, unrecognized at first, for "fraternity row" became a means of unity in isolation and seclusion.

As the enrollment rose again to 34 in 1944, the DU House was added, and Dr. Merlino's report on the success of the school affirmed that "the greatest single factor . . . was the exclusive use of three excellently equipped fraternity houses, ideally placed in a most attractive corner of the campus. More than anything else, the geographical unity of the school welded the students and faculty into a 'happy family', increasing immeasurably the opportunities . . . for the frequent use of the spoken language." The quadrangle was completed with the addition of Chi Psi Lodge in 1947 when the Russian School moved out. The Merlinos lived regularly in the SPE House; performances and songfests

THE ITALIAN SCHOOL, SUMMER OF 1944

In front of the DU House; Camillo and Anna Merlino in center of second row

were held on the lawn under the SPE back balcony or under the DU portico. The broad front lawns were roomy for folk-dancing classes, for long chats after the evening meal, and especially for the popular game of "bocce", a sort of outdoor bowling in which the players try to place a set of large balls as close as possible to a little white one.

Besides the ever popular Maestro Benelli, one of the mainstays of the faculty was Domenico Vittorini, a distinguished scholar, Associate Professor at the University of Pennsylvania, who had been Visiting Professor here in 1936. He returned in the summers of 1941–43, teaching a wide variety of courses in Italian literature, especially useful for such a small school. Merlino regularly gave the rotating Dante course, and varied his offering of From Latin to Italian with Italian Club Activities, and a research seminar. In 1943 the two Carbonaras were replaced by Samuel Guarnaccia and Maria Vulcano, both of whom had been students a few years before. Dr. Bosano visited the school and gave a special lecture.

Dr. Merlino, immediately on assuming the directorship, had launched a determined campaign to secure funds for scholarships, seeing this as the best way to increase enrollment and help Italian students and teachers of limited means. His wide contacts in Italian circles and his earnest pleas had great effect. He was aided by Maestro Benelli and other faculty members who had influence with Italian businessmen. As a result, the little Italian School led all the others in gifts for this purpose, upwards of $800 in a single summer. There was a scholarship given by Dr. Bosano in memory of her mother, ten Bonomo and four Schimenti Scholarships, the Quirk Scholarship from the Circolo Italiano, and the Sigma Iota Theta Scholarship, both from the Hartford, Conn., High School;

one from a group of friends in Rochester, N.Y. This generous tradition has continued to the present, and still distinguishes the Italian School.

The session of 1944 opened on a sad note. The beloved Maestro Benelli, who had been the "life" of the school since 1937, by his courses in music and folklore, by his leadership of the choruses, and above all by his jovial presence, died suddenly two weeks before the opening. He left a real void. Four distinguished guest lecturers added variety to the program. Actual war had ceased in Italy. The school's enrollment had come back from its low point to some forty students including those from other schools, and its "esprit de corps" had been greatly improved by its isolation on "fraternity row". A memorable occasion was the "al fresco" performance of Calzabigi's *Orfeo ed Euridice*, with music by Gluck, on the lawn, under floodlights.

Dr. Merlino wisely focused the curriculum in 1945 on reconstruction and post-war usefulness. In the foreword of the bulletin, he wrote: "The exigencies, both military and civic, created by the present global war, and the many and varied post-war opportunities for effective service in the task of reconstruction, direct special attention to the usefulness, indeed the essential need, of a practical mastery of the spoken and written language of Italy." The Visiting Professor, Dr. Nicola Milella, Assistant Supervisor of Adult Education in the College of the City of New York, gave a timely course on the Problems of Contemporary Italy, treating the political situation, and the physical and moral needs of the people in the post-war period. Richard Mezzotero taught the Risorgimento, a different post-war era; Miss Carbonara compared the Renaissance and the modern world.

Pierina and Salvatore Castiglione returned to the school in 1946 after an absence of six summers. She gave a new course called the Formation of the Italian People and Nation, bringing it down to the rise and fall of Fascism and post-war Italy. He returned to the poetry course. Merlino's Dante and Research completed the cultural offerings. Enrollment rose surprisingly to a highwater mark of 59. Only three more came over from the other schools, an unexplained phenomenon, since there had been so many in earlier years. Ten were veterans. Among the students we note the names of Miss Ruth Lakeway of the Eastman School of Music, whose vocal concerts delighted audiences for many summers; and Herbert Golden, Professor at Boston University, one of the most loyal friends and supporters of the school. Twenty scholarships of $50 were provided by generous donors. Merlino wrote an interesting account of the summer, with illustrations, for the Middlebury *News Letter* of October 1946.

The last session under Dr. Merlino's direction, 1947, was thoroughly successful. The enrollment held at 56, 17 men and 39 women; 14 were veterans. Elio Gianturco, a well-known university teacher and lecturer, then working in the Law Library of Congress, was Visiting Professor and gave a new course on literary criticism, using the work of De Sanctis as a point of departure. Castiglione, announced but unable to come, was replaced by Dr. Giacinto Maselli of the University of Rome. New on the faculty was Miss Grazia Avitabile, Ph.D. Bryn Mawr, instructor at Wheaton College, Mass., and later the successor of Miss Bosano at Wellesley. She returned in 1948 and continued her generous interest in Middlebury.

Besides the standard language courses, five courses were offered in literature and philology. Merlino's Research Seminar was elected by eight advanced students, a heavy load, as each had a different independent project, usually in preparation for a doctorate. The school also shared in the two courses in Methodology, taught in English for all the schools by Professor Elton Hocking. Miss Carbonara gave the Dante course. The school enjoyed the exclusive use of the four fraternity houses, DKE, DU, SPE and Chi Psi, with dining room in DKE. All activities, including classes, were thus held on a tight little Italian campus—the maximum in isolation and concentration. Several special evening lectures and recitals contributed to enrich the program, and an excellent performance of Pirandello's *Così è se vi pare* was given.

On July 11, 1947 I received, with a real sense of shock, Dr. Merlino's letter of resignation as Director, effective at the close of the session. In it he spoke of his increasing interest in and devotion to the Italian School. He said he believed the school had reached its optimum development, and after ten years of happy labors, he felt the growing pressure of its academic and social demands. Considerations of health, he explained, were foremost in a decision which he made with great regret. I talked the matter over with him several times, and found that his decision was the result of careful thought.

I wrote him, on August 7, in part:—"The ten years during which you have directed the work of the school have been years of distinct progress and constructive success. You have administered its affairs intelligently and wisely; your skillful choice of faculty and students has made its reputation world-wide. You have been singularly successful in attracting the interest and financial support of the Italo-American groups in the East. . . . With the invaluable assistance of Mrs. Merlino, you have made the Italian School in large measure a reflection of the hard-working earnestness, sincerity and unaffected human charm which characterize you both."

At the Commencement on August 11, 1952, it was my privilege, acting in the stead of President Stratton who was in Saudi Arabia that year, to confer upon Camillo Merlino the degree of Doctor of Letters, honoris causa. The citation read—". . . We welcome you back to the Middlebury campus and to its Language Schools that have not ceased to profit from the energetic impulse you gave us, and from the continuing cooperation and support which even in your absence we have gratefully received. We honor you as a leader in Italian scholarship, and in the teaching of Italian in this country. . . . Your influence has been increased by the warm personal friendliness and intense loyalty which mark all your relationships, ably seconded by your gracious and charming wife. . . ."

Camillo and Ann kept their promise "never to by-pass an opportunity" to further the "cause" represented by Middlebury. He continued to teach at Boston University, becoming Chairman of the Dept. of Modern Languages, 1955-64. He served also as Editor of the Modern Language Journal, 1954-58. During these years, he sent us many students, found us donors for scholarships, and helped greatly with our publicity. Even now in his retirement, these faithful friends occasionally visit Middlebury and grace the meetings of AMISA with their presence.

THE BUILDERS

The Russian School

Mischa Fayer, 1945 - 1967

The Russian School was inaugurated on June 30, 1945 by Mischa Harry Fayer, acting under the authority of President Samuel S. Stratton. It became the fifth of the Middlebury College Foreign Language Schools. The project had been studied carefully for some time. The importance of Russia as an ally in the war, and the conviction that she would play a leading role in the post-war world, were impelling American colleges to introduce courses in Russian. President Stratton had therefore brought Fayer from Michigan State College in September 1943, as Assistant Professor of Russian, to begin instruction in Russian in the winter college, and to consider the possibility of a Russian Summer School.

Mischa Harry Fayer had had an interesting international youth. Born in New York City in 1902, he went to Russia with his Russian-born parents at the age of two, and lived there until the age of twenty-two, graduating cum laude from the Beletskaya Gimnaziya in Bessarabia. Russian was therefore his native language. In 1924 his father, who had been in the banking business, found conditions under the Bolshevik rule increasingly difficult; and the family returned to the United States. Young Mischa entered the University of Minnesota as a junior, and found himself learning English as a foreign language.

He received his A.B. there in 1926; continued for his Master's degree; studied at the Sorbonne and received a certificat après examens in 1931. He did graduate work at the University of Southern California and at Claremont College. He was Chairman of the Department of Foreign Languages at the State Teachers' College, Dickinson, North Dakota, for ten years, and Chairman of the Division of Languages and Literatures for three more, until 1942. He went to Michigan State College as instructor in Russian for 1942-43, from whence he came to Middlebury.

In the meantime he had become a candidate for the Ph.D. at Columbia University, and wrote a brilliant thesis on *Gide, Freedom, and Dostoevsky,* analyzing three periods in Gide's thought, the great influence of Dostoevsky upon him, and the use he made of Dostoevsky in his own concept and philosophy of freedom. Gide himself wrote to Fayer a cordial letter of thanks and approval, calling it "certainly one of the best if not the best [study] which has ever been written about me; and I do not remember that any has ever satisfied me more. . . . I am pleased to recognize, or discover, thanks to you, my consistency, and I am grateful to you for showing it so well. I have never understood myself so well as in reading you. . . ." Fayer received the doctorate from Columbia in 1945, after coming to Middlebury.

MISCHA FAYER
Founder and Director of the Russian School, 1945-1967; Professor of Russian, Middlebury College, 1943-1967; The Troika, painted by Arthur K. D. Healy, became the insignia of the Russian School

Stratton and Fayer discussed frequently during the fall of 1944 the creation of a Russian Summer School. Fayer had taught the course in Beginning Russian offered under the auspices of the French School in the summer of 1944, and had been impressed by the strong interest shown by the summer students. On December 11, 1944 he presented to Stratton a formal proposal. In it, he cited as arguments the growing awareness in America of the richness of Russian culture, the need for Americans linguistically and culturally equipped to enter into diplomatic and commercial post-war relations with Russia, the increasing importance of Russian as a scientific language, and the developing demand in American colleges and secondary schools for teachers of Russian.

Fayer explained that limited and small scale attempts had already been made by other colleges in the form of intensive courses, but that a genuine Russian School with a "Russky Dom" (House), complete linguistic segregation, competent native Russian instructors, and courses in Russian literature and civilization taught exclusively in Russian would prove a decided innovation. He proposed that the school should be on the same intensive plan as the other Middlebury schools, except that elementary courses should be offered because of the nation-wide lack of satisfactory preparation in the language; and that beginning students would have to be released from the usual language pledge for the first few weeks. An estimate of fifteen students was made, and a budget was based on that figure. Fayer would act as Director and Dean, and teach two courses; one other instructor would be engaged.

The trustees approved the proposal in February. Time was short for adequate publicity. The *Campus* carried the first public announcement on March 22. Leaflets of information were circulated among teachers of Russian and members of the American Association of Teachers of Slavic and East European Languages (AATSEEL), of which Dr. Fayer was the Chairman of the Committee on

Methodology. An attractive poster was sent to colleges and libraries. Articles and advertising were carried by newspapers and magazines, especially by the Russian press in New York and San Francisco.

The regular Language School Bulletin of March 1945 was delayed long enough to include a full description of the new school. In it, Fayer stated the essence of his program: "Russia's increasing prestige and influence indicates not only that there will be an urgent practical demand for Americans trained in the Russian language, but also that effective and permanent cooperation between the two nations in peace will depend in large measure upon the existence in the United States of many centers for the serious study of Russian civilization, literature and culture, as well as her social, economic and political organization."

The response was immediate and a bit overwhelming. Provision for instruction and housing had been made for fifteen students. The final enrollment was 44. At least as many more applicants were refused admission. Some came anyway, lived in town, and enrolled as auditors. The housing situation that summer was the tightest in the history of the college. With the three-term calendar still in force, civilian men students occupied Starr Hall, undergraduate women Hepburn Hall, the Navy V-12 Unit Gifford Hall. Even though the Spanish School was still at Bread Loaf, and the German School still at Bristol, there was nothing left for the Russian School, after taking care of the French and Italian Schools, except the Chi Psi Lodge as headquarters and social center, and the Theta Chi and Jewett-Willcox houses, accommodating 33 students. The other eleven lived in town or in the French School. Before leaving for the U.S. Army University in France, I gave President Stratton a detailed memo on the crowded and difficult housing situation of all the schools as of June 9, and the probable solutions.

The academic calibre of the students was high: three Ph.D.'s, 13 Master of Arts, 24 Bachelors; only four were undergraduates. They included two writers, two lawyers, three U.S. Army officers, a journalist, and several college teachers. Mrs. Lydia Mikhailoff-Shelly, from Indiana University, was engaged in March. As the enrollment surged, Miss Marya Tolstoy, granddaughter of the great novelist, was secured, and brought the school favorable publicity. So many French School students came over for the beginners' course that M. Pargment of the French faculty, a native Russian, was persuaded to teach one section. Three groups of courses were offered: Elementary, composed of grammar, pronunciation and vocabulary; Intermediate, composed of grammar and conversation; and two cultural courses—Literary Masters of the 19th Century, and Contemporary Russia. The last two groups were taught exclusively in Russian, an idea unique in the United States at that time.

Following the example of the other schools, Dr. Fayer organized a rich program of activities. An opera baritone gave two concerts; a specialist on Russian art, an authority on the Russian theatre and a teacher of Soviet sociology, all came and lectured without fee. Afternoon teas around the samovar, and a Russian banquet added to the atmosphere. Two picnics, three plays, and regular choral singing were part of the calendar.

A highlight was the visit of Robert Frost. He was delighted with the creation of the Russian School, and asked if he could have lunch at the school and talk with the students. On the appointed day, he was charming at table, after a very late arrival. Then he suggested that he would like to make a few remarks to all the students. This became a speech of more than an hour, during which Mr. Frost "said" many of his poems, to the delight of the students, but to the distress of the waiters and kitchen staff waiting to clear the tables. He stayed afterward for another hour to chat with the students, in English, of course. It was a memorable occasion, but it was several days before the students stopped talking English about Robert Frost. Mr. Frost was much interested in the Soviet Union. Shortly before his official visit there in 1962, the Strattons invited the Fayers to have dinner with Mr. Frost, so that they could help him with suggestions for his trip, and answer his numerous questions.

The greatest problem of the first summer arose from the acceptance of elementary students. About half the school were beginners or students unqualified to adhere to the pledge of "no-English." Fayer had hoped that they could be segregated in the dormitories as well as in the classes for the first three weeks, so as not to interfere with the pledge of the more advanced students. This did not work out. The shortage of housing and the unexpected number of applicants led to frequent changes of arrangements right up to the opening of school. The two dormitories were at quite a distance from the "Russky Dom" or social center and dining room. All students were mingled, and it became unrealistic to try to enforce the rule except in the classroom. The beginners made very rapid progress, but the advanced students were deprived of the linguistic discipline so basic to the Middlebury tradition.

The first summer was thus, as Fayer has said, a "learning experience" for everyone, including himself. A Middlebury Summer Language School is a very complex operation. The students were confused by last-minute reassignments in dormitory and classroom. The faculty, unfamiliar with this kind of school and with the techniques of teaching in the foreign language, came without class plans and prepared syllabi, in spite of Fayer's instructions. Mrs. Shelly was expected to be the directress of social life, but understood little of the necessary arrangements for teas, plays, and other activities. Group singing was important and popular, but Fayer had to appoint a student pianist to lead it. Fayer had to take care of a thousand unforeseen details; and could not consult my experience, as I was in France. His wife Margaret, who was at the time Acting Editor of the college, and was named Librarian that fall, spent countless extra hours at the Russian School, on everything from publicity, office work, and records, to organizing social gatherings and presiding over them as the school's charming hostess. In short, the school was a great, unexpected, enthusiastic, and somewhat confused success.

The lessons were well learned, and the summer of 1946 profited greatly from them. Most important of all, no beginners were accepted. Fayer had recommended in his 1945 Report that a separate Institute be offered for beginners, with entirely segregated facilities, fearing still that there were not enough advanced students available. Housing was still short, however, and he was easily persuaded not to renew the difficulties of 1945. He had also learned his lesson about taking recommendations at their face value. From now on, before accepting a student, he had a personal interview with him, or at the least, a telephone conversation, in order to verify his fluency in Russian. These telephonic interviews became famous.

All students in the Russian School were thus able and willing to take and keep the formal pledge of honor, signed at registration, to use Russian exclusively in all their activities. Fayer had been much impressed by the importance André Morize attached to the pledge; and as a "Chef de Table" in the French School in 1944 had observed its strict enforcement. He became the strictest of the directors on this matter. He determined that there could be no compromise; "either you do or you don't" speak Russian at the school; and those who did not were not welcome.

There was good reason for his insistence that the pledge meant "Russian only", and not merely "no English." Most of his students had already learned one foreign language, French or German or Spanish; and there was a strong temptation for them to lapse into that language, even if not into English, either when the going got tough among themselves, or when they met an attractive girl from the French or German or Spanish School. Every student soon found that the discipline of the pledge was absolute, and that even a seeming minor infraction meant a reprimand.

There had been no need to worry about enrollment. Already the school was known countrywide as unique. The quota of fifty places available in Hillcrest, Theta Chi House and Chi Psi Lodge was quickly filled. The campus was back on a peace-time basis, with few undergraduates; but the Spanish School had returned from Bread Loaf, and space was still limited. Geographically, the Russian School was still too scattered in a wide triangle between its three houses, each six minutes walk apart. The student body of 51, 23 men and 28 women, was truly superior. Among them were six veterans under the G.I. Bill, five Army officers sent by West Point to prepare them to teach Russian at the Academy, and a Navy officer. Thirty-five were graduate students; there were ten Masters and five Doctors. Highly significant was the number of specialists in scientific and educational fields who came to perfect their Russian as a tool for research: a nationally known chemist, a biologist from a research corporation, a professor of social science, the wife of Arctic explorer Stefansson, a mid-west state supervisor of language instruction. The weaker "intermediate" students made astonishing progress in this environment.

Better aware now of what type of staff was needed in a school of this sort, Dr. Fayer gathered a highly qualified and more adequate group of five teachers. Marya Tolstoy returned, teaching Contemporary Russian Literature. She was at that time instructor in the College of the City of New York. Aron S. Pressman and his wife Anastasia Feodorova Pressman, teachers at the American-Russian Institute in New York, were faithful members of the staff for many years. An accomplished musician and concert pianist, he led the group singing and organized a chorus. Mrs. Pressman had spent her early life in the Russian classical theatre. Besides language classes, she directed the school's dramatics program, utilizing a beautiful collection of costumes which she had brought from Russia.

Another scholarly addition was Elias Tartak, from the New School for Social Research. A native Russian with an A.B. from McGill University, he had served in the Canadian Army in 1918-19. He was especially fitted for courses in composition and stylistics. He was nicknamed "The Brains" because of his encyclopedic knowledge and enthusiasm for Russian literature. He spent many hours in conversation with the men in Hillcrest where he lived. Five courses in language were offered and two in literature. Dr. Fayer gave a new course on the Political and Social History of Russia to 1917. Mrs. Fayer was recognized as the official Hostess.

The pattern of the new school was taking shape. In 1947 and succeeding summers, the aim was constant refinement and improvement. My appointment as Director of the Language Schools in November 1946 enabled me to assist Dr. Fayer in this process. Two chief areas needed attention: curriculum and housing. The curriculum was as yet too small to give a returning student much choice, or to allow him to build a balanced program over several summers. Considerable expansion of the program was necessary to attract degree candidates which the school was now empowered to accept, both for the M.A. and the D.M.L. Teachers of university calibre had to be added. Fayer followed the example of the German School in listing the bracketed courses to be given in rotation over a four-year period.

The faculty was doubled in 1947, numbering ten, including Fayer. All the 1946 faculty returned. Elton Hocking, shared with the other schools, taught courses in Modern Language Methods, in English, which were supplemented by special lectures in Russian. A notable addition was Mrs. Tatiana Vacquier, connected with the old Russian aristocracy, Professor at Nazareth College, who was immensely popular for many years in the intermediate courses. Ivan Lopatin, Chairman of Slavic Studies at the University of Southern California, added stature to the language courses. Fayer organized a research seminar for the doctorate candidates. Pressman, whose Russian Language Records were adopted by the U.S. Army, blazed new ground with a course in Russian Phonetics, and made practice materials for the newly installed general Phonetics Center. Seven courses in language and four in literature and civilization were scheduled, besides Methods and Research.

The other problem area, housing, was not as easy to solve, especially since the enrollment reached 76. The Russian School had the highest proportion of men of any of the schools, 48 men to 28 women. Twenty-eight students were veterans. Starr Hall, completely remodelled and redecorated, was assigned to the school along with Hillcrest, instead of the fraternity houses. This was an improvement in dormitory quarters, but the school still had no large lounge or attractive social hall adequate for a gathering of the whole school. Dr. and Mrs. Fayer lived in the little apartment in Hillcrest, constantly available to the students. The "vecherinki" or evening parties added greatly to the cohesion and happy atmosphere of the school. The basement lounge in Gifford Hall was converted to a dining hall, but it was small and too far from the kitchen. Kitchen boys and young chamber maids from town were also quartered in Gifford and Hillcrest, and disturbed both the Russian and Spanish Schools by their late and noisy frolics.

The maturity of the school was becoming more and more evident. Several distinguished guests came; among them Igor Astrow of the United Nations, and Francis Stevens, Acting Associate Chief of the Division of Eastern European Affairs of the Department of State. The latter wrote me after his visit that he was much impressed by the quality of the work done here. He felt it was filling an important need, since it was then very difficult to send American students to the Soviet Union for instruction. "It is virtually impossible to find any other place in the world where students can live in a Russian environment. . . . One of our greatest problems in training Foreign Service Officers in the Russian language is to provide a Russian atmosphere in which they can live and work. Since so much progress has been made at Middlebury in providing such an atmosphere, I am hopeful that the Department will find it possible to send some of its language officers there for the summer session." In fact, quite a few did come in later summers.

The growth of the school raised another problem unique to the Russian School, the recruiting of highly qualified experienced *native* teachers. The other European languages had been taught in this country for years, and a considerable body of trained native teachers was available. Not so with Russian; few younger teachers had gained experience here, and the competition for the older ones was very keen. Salaries were forced higher, adding to the financial problem. In general, we had to pay our Russian teachers more than those in the other schools. Even then, Fayer was unable within his budget to meet the competition for some of the professors he wanted.

In the late 1940's and early 1950's, American popular sentiment ran very high against Communism. Anything Russian was under suspicion. McCarthy-type investigations ruined many people who merely wished to keep an open mind. Neutrality was generally impossible, and academic objectivity was achieved with difficulty even in the large universities. Any position that was not strongly and publicly anti-Communist was considered tantamount to being anti-American. The young Middlebury Russian School had to be very careful to maintain a correct position, one acceptable to the College, the students, and the federal authorities. This did not mean academic freedom as we use the term today; objectivity was the most we could hope for.

There were "Letters to the Editor" in various New England newspapers containing violent attacks on Fayer and the Russian School, with erroneous information or intentional misrepresentations of his competence, and claiming that the school was "a stooge of the Kremlin." One such letter, sent to Governor Gibson of Vermont as well as to me and several newspapers, by an unidentified writer from a fictitious address in New York, was so libelous that most of the newspapers refused to print it. Other letters, less venomous, but likewise misinformed, were forwarded to us by friends of the school, such as Walter Hard, repeating second-hand reports that "of the eight faculty members only two are non-party-liners", and that little or nothing about Russian culture prior to 1917 was taught at the school. We were able to show that the school's cultural curriculum was balanced between pre- and post-Revolution, with greater emphasis on the period before 1917. Our special lecturers on contemporary Soviet culture were anti-Communist but always carefully objective.

Dr. Fayer's personal loyalty to American institutions was absolute, and he was circumspect in his contacts for the school. At no time in the history of the school did he have any relationship, formal or informal, with any Soviet agency. He chose his faculty with great caution. It was not easy to find an expert on contemporary Russia who could be counted on to state facts accurately without bias pro or con the Communist regime. He succeeded in most cases. Most of his faculty had left Russia before the Revolution and were of the old Russian intelligentsia, or had fled from the Communist regime by various means. They were strongly anti-Communist, but endeavored to be objective in the classroom. It was particularly difficult to find, for the minor, lower-salaried teaching positions or assistantships, as in the other schools, young *native* Russians who were not in this country as missionaries of Communism. Only two or three of his staff turned out to be Communist propagandists, and they were not reappointed. It is true that a few of the staff taught during the winter at the American-Russian Institute in New York, a Communist-leaning organization, but they avoided politics completely in all their contacts with students.

On the other hand, there were instances of faculty members and even students so violently anti-Communist that they were unwilling to accept the academic objectivity of the classroom; and wished the school to be proclaiming at every moment its hostility to the U.S.S.R. One summer, even the students complained that one of their teachers neglected the lesson and spent most of the class time ranting against the cruelty and injustice of the Communist regime. When not re-hired, the teacher sent an official complaint to the F.B.I., alleging that Fayer and all the rest of his faculty were pro-Communist.

The school and its faculty were in fact investigated by the F.B.I., we do not know how often. Our standing was always correct and the record perfectly clear. The school was also visited frequently by government officials, like Francis Stevens, as noted above. In the summer of 1949, two members of the staff of the magazine *Amerika*, published by the Department of State, spent a week at the school, talking with students even more than with faculty. They stated they

Students in the Russian School enjoy the athletic folkdances were completely satisfied with the political climate at the school. Their article, with photographs, in Russian text, was later distributed to all parts of the Soviet Union. The Academies at West Point and Annapolis sent many students. Veterans totalled up to 37% of the enrollment in some summers. No serious criticism came from any of them about the political atmosphere of the school.

A curious illustration of the problem appeared in the extracurricular program. Singing was very popular, after meals, and at the "vecherinki." All the students participated enthusiastically, under the leadership of Pressman. Most popular were the Soviet patriotic songs, not because of the words, but because the music was highly singable, full of zest, the sort of vigorous marching songs to which Moscow's Red Square resounded. At first, no one thought anything of it, but as the public psychosis mounted, the school's repertory of songs was discreetly abridged for a while.

Seeking an artistic yet non-political symbol for the school, as the German School used the Goslar Fountain, Fayer hit upon the "troika." Gogol, in a familiar passage in *Dead Souls,* writes of Russia "soaring along like a spirited, never-to-be-outdistanced troika." Arthur Healy painted a striking picture of the dashing three-horse light carriage; and Fayer used it in the bulletins and other publicity from 1948 on.

As Dr. Fayer said in his report, the Russian School reached in its fourth session, 1948, a degree of maturity which would not usually be expected of so young a school. The Master of Arts degree was awarded in August to three men and two women, the school's first candidates. The faculty of nine were all college teachers. Many of them remained with the school for many summers—the Pressmans, Tartak, Mme Vacquier, Mrs. Eleena Solova. The author and lecturer Joshua Kunitz was appointed Assistant to the Director. A Doctor from Columbia, he had headed the Russian Area Studies of the A.S.T.P. at Cornell, and had led educational tours to Russia. He had been an influential Communist at one time, and his early books reflect that attitude. About 1946 he was publicly read out of the Communist Party, however. He was entirely circumspect at Middlebury.

The student enrollment reached its maximum of 78 (49 men, 29 women) under the current arrangement, limited by the capacity of the Lower Gifford Dining Hall. The upstairs lounge of the old wooden "temporary" Student Union was assigned to the school. With Hillcrest and Starr as dormitories, the school was geographically more concentrated, and now had a satisfactory social center for the many extra-curricular activities. Russian folk-dancing, especially the athletic leaping of the men, became very popular, but had to be held in Munroe Hall as the wooden Student Union was not structurally solid enough.

Each year, Fayer endeavored to secure better teachers, and to vary the faculty and courses sufficiently to attract returning students with a broad program for the Master's and the Doctorate. Some changes were indicated from time to time, as some of the native Russian professors, though excellent scholars and teachers, were individualists who did not understand or were unwilling to adapt themselves to the basic premises of this quite unique Middlebury community.

The well-known art critic Vera Kovarsky, from the staff of *Time,* was named the first Visiting Professor, in 1949; followed in successive years by the scholarly Nicholas Vakar of Harvard, giving courses in Russian civilization; the expert in economics Valery Tereshtenko of Columbia; the dynamic Mrs. Marianna Poltoratzky of the Army Training School in Monterrey; and the distinguished literary critic Marc Slonim of Sarah Lawrence College. They gave courses in their special fields, following the four-year rotating program as announced in the bulletin. Mrs. Poltoratzky returned later for several summers as a regular faculty member, teaching stylistics and the history of the language.

Other noteworthy additions through the first decade were Iury Ivask of Harvard, Nicholas Maltzoff of West Point, Nicolai Vorobiov of Smith College, and Mrs. Berthe Normano of the Asia Institute in New York. Ivask, who returned each summer until his appointment at the University of Washington in 1957, was a skillful teacher of literature, usually giving the courses in 19th Century and Contemporary Poetry, Drama, and the Novel. Maltzoff served the school with great competence and devotion from 1951 to 1962, at times with the title of Assistant to the Director. An author of textbooks, he taught the language courses and occasionally Scientific Russian.

Mrs. Normano came in 1951 as Secretary to the Director, later Executive Secretary. She became an indispensable part of the school's organization, watching over operations and records, faculty and students alike, with solicitous care, motherly patience, and great tact. She was appointed to the college's winter session Russian Department part-time in 1956, and regularly from 1960 to 1968. She was Acting Chairman of the Department during Fayer's leave of absence in 1964-65. Even after her retirement, she continued "without portfolio" to make her knowledge and experience available to the school, and still resides in Middlebury, where she is affectionately known to all as "Bon", her initials.

Among the more noteworthy courses offered in rotation every four years were special studies on Dostoevsky, Tolstoy, and Gorky, usually taught by Fayer; Contemporary Literature, Drama, and Short Story, by Ivask; Survey of Civilization, by Vakar; Folklore, by Vorobiov; History of Art, by Kovarsky and Vorobiov. Methods of Teaching was first offered in 1950, by Vakar, so successfully that he repeated it in 1953.

The school celebrated in 1949 the sesquicentennial of the birth of Alexander Pushkin in an ambitious evening program combining lecture, dramatics and music. Fayer gave the address; the students presented a play in four scenes adapted by Mrs. Pressman from the story *Dubrovsky;* and the school chorus sang the Girls' Chorus and the Onegin aria from the opera *Eugene Onegin* by Pushkin and Tchaikovsky. Direction and costumes were by Mrs. Pressman.

An interesting sequel occurred the following summer when Mrs. Pressman donated to Middlebury College a rich collection of Russian costumes, in memory of her father. Leo Feodoroff was the director-owner of the Russian Grand Opera, a private company which played outside of Moscow, under the Empire. Anastasia Feodorova followed in the footsteps of her parents, and was an accomplished actress and ballet dancer. In 1915, the Feodoroffs decided to leave Russia. They went east across Siberia, playing as they went, with a stay in India, the Philippines and Java. In Java, Aron Pressman, who was there giving piano concerts, met and married Anastasia, and joined the company. After a period in Japan, they

RUSSIAN SCHOOL FACULTY, SUMMER OF 1951
Front row, l. r.: Mrs. [illegible], Mrs. [illegible], Mrs. [illegible], Mrs. Fayer, Mrs. Pressman. Back Row: Mr. [illegible], Mr. [illegible], Mr. [illegible], Mr. [illegible], Mr. Fayer, Mr. Pressman

came to the United States and played for a short time, but the company was disbanded about 1923. The whole stock of costumes and the library of scores were rented out, and later kept in storage. In 1950, Mrs. Pressman decided to give them to Middlebury College where they could be used. Altogether there were 17 boxes and trunks, containing royal garments for *Boris Godunov*, costumes for *Eugene Onegin* and the *Queen of Spades*, authentic Ukrainian and old Slavonic costumes, garments of the old Imperial Court, authentic peasant and provincial costumes with much valuable lace and hand embroidery, various costumes, wigs and accessories for Shakespearian plays and some Western operas. The value was estimated at considerably more than $4000 at that time; and it would have been impossible to duplicate it even in Russia. The collection is now in Wright Memorial Theatre, where it is frequently used, not only by the Russian School for dramatics and as illustrative material, but also by the other summer schools and frequently during the winter under the direction of Eric Volkert.

The Russian School meant a great deal to Anastasia Pressman, and she gave complete devotion to her teaching and the direction of its dramatics. She was weak following an operation in the spring of 1955, but she insisted on coming to the session. It was the Pressmans' tenth summer here, and the school had a party for them. She was planning on returning in 1956, but she died shortly before the opening of the school. A memorial scholarship was created by the school in her name. Aron Pressman taught at the school through 1959, then after an interval, returned in 1968 and still continues to teach here and direct the singing. In the winter he now teaches at the University of Massachusetts. He replaced Fayer at Middlebury during the first semester of 1951-52 when Fayer was on leave; and was co-author with him of a revision of Bondar's *Simplified Russian Grammar*. A Pressman daughter, Mrs. Zora Essman, attended the school, served as dancing instructor, and completed her Master's degree.

At the August Commencement exercises in 1950, the first honorary degree sponsored by the Russian School was awarded to Michael Karpovich, Chairman of the Department of Slavic at Harvard. He had been associated with the Kerensky Provisional Government in Russia; and was a specialist in modern Russian history and economics. He had lectured here in 1948, and had shown the school many courtesies.

In 1954, the Russian School marked its tenth summer with a real celebration. It was a brilliant summer. Marc Slonim was the Visiting Professor, a superb lecturer of the old European school, on Contemporary Russian Literature, and Literary Criticism and Social Thought. Serge Zenkovsky of Indiana University taught Political History to 1917, and the Economic Development of the Soviet Union. Maltzoff gave Scientific Russian, Ivask studied the Poetry of the 19th Century. Fayer gave his Tolstoy course. The student enrollment jumped to 89, 56 men and 33 women. Among them were eleven veterans, two teachers of Russian from West Point and two from Annapolis, eight former Trainees in Russian from the Army Language School at Monterrey. The school awarded two Master's degrees, and its first Doctorate in Modern Languages to Joseph Doherty.

An attractive Tenth Anniversary brochure, published in the spring, proved an effective advertising piece. Besides a description of the school and its program, it contained extracts from letters from former students, showing how they were making active and remunerative use of their knowledge of Russian. Out of many letters received, extracts from 24 of the most representative were published. Several, like Frank Rounds, Gene and Gloria (Donen) Sosin, Dr. Trude Gunther, and Helen Husted Chavchavadse, were in diplomatic service, connected with Radio Free Europe, or refugee services, as authors, translators, researchers. Several, like Col. Sumner Willard, Sidney Harcave, George Condoyannis, Charles Babcock, Michael Boehnak, John Kempers, were teachers of Russian at West Point and other colleges. Others were graduate students in programs requiring research in original sources in Russian: Joel Hayden, Jr., Walter Pintner and others.

Mrs. Viljahlmur Stefansson, wife of the Arctic explorer, wrote that she used Russian "every working day" as Librarian of the Stefansson Collection at Dartmouth of materials on the Arctic. Miss Emma Birkmaier, Professor of Education at the Univ. of Minnesota, and later president of several national associations of modern language teachers, introduced Russian into the University Laboratory high school, and experimented with Russian at the seventh grade level. Many other students of the first decade occupy important positions: William Harkins, here in 1945, now Chairman of Slavic at Columbia; Leon Twarog, in 1948, now in a similar position at Ohio State; Marvin Kalb, in 1952, now commentator for the Columbia Broadcasting System.

Middlebury romances did not go unnoticed. Besides the Sosins, Mr. and Mrs. Clifford Gross, Mr. and Mrs. Joel Hayden, Jr., and Mr. and Mrs. John

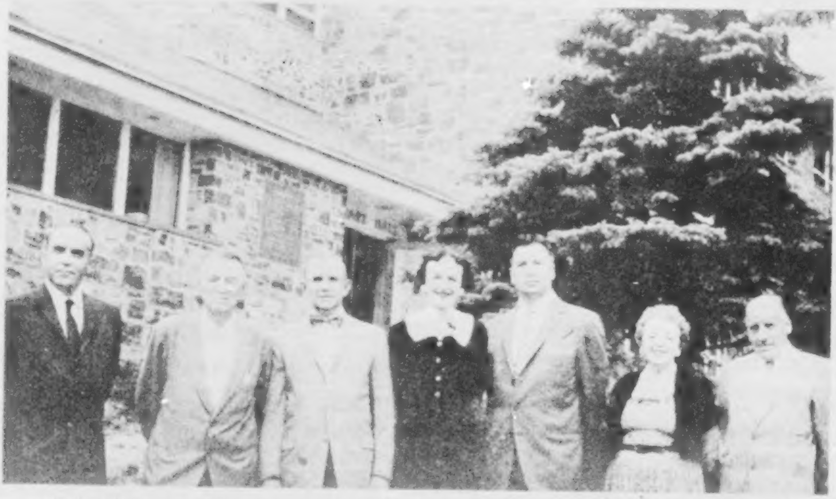
Kempers were Russian school "couples" whose first courtship flourished here. Special mention may be made of Mrs. Roland F. Doane, a student at the school. She taught Russian at the University of Vermont; her husband taught French. They enrolled and lived in the separate schools, and, according to the pledge, were not supposed to talk to each other for seven weeks. There was something so pathetic about seeing them wave to each other from opposite sides of College St. that Fayer relented and granted them permission for an occasional "vacation" together.

On July 23-25 a combined Anniversary Celebration, Alumni Weekend and Tolstoy Symposium was held. Some thirty guests and former students came especially for the event. Following an address by Dr. Fayer, there was a special exhibit and documentary film on Leo Tolstoy. The participants in the two-session symposium were Professors Fayer, Slonim, Maltzoff, Ivask, with Professors Vakar of Wheaton and Karpovich of Harvard as guests. Two plays by Chekhov and a concert concluded the festivities.

The next three summers, 1955-57 continued on an even tenor. Enrollments averaged about 80. Physical accommodations were enlarged and improved by assigning Painter and Starr Halls entirely to the school, abandoning Weybridge House. The crowded dining conditions were alleviated by moving the school to the larger dining room upstairs in Gifford Hall. A joint Faculty Club for the Russian, Spanish and Italian Schools had been tried in Hillcrest Annex, but this international experiment did not succeed. The Russian teachers then established their own little lounge in Painter Hall, and enjoyed it greatly. An Alumni Association was formally organized in 1955; a first Alumni Weekend of the Association was held in July, and an Alumni Scholarship was initiated.

Interesting new people on the faculty during those years were the poet Gleb Glinka; Mrs. Ludmilla Patrick of the Univ. of California, who had been here in 1950; Peter Yershov from Columbia; Nicholas Fersen from the Institute of Linguistics in Georgetown; and Eugen Kalikin, also from Georgetown. After Mrs. Pressman's death, Yershov directed the dramatics very successfully. He and Kalikin, with their wives, returned for many summers, becoming part of the semi-permanent faculty. Fersen taught here four summers, and also during the academic year 1959-60. The American Committee for Liberation sent two radio men to the school in the summer of 1957, who recorded the school's activities for broadcast to the Soviet orbit.

The summer of 1958 marked another important milestone, with the inauguration of the Institute of Soviet Studies. Dr. Fayer had recognized for some time that the demand for Russian studies came not so much from teachers as from diplomatic and military agencies, from business and professional men, and from graduate students engaged in research. As early as 1955 he had presented to Dr. Stratton a memo recommending the creation of an Institute which would answer these demands more completely and specifically. He was authorized to explore the matter and to seek financial support. During 1957 he approached several foundations with detailed plans and information. With the help of President Stratton and Vice-President Walter Brooker, his initiative was rewarded in early 1958 by a subsidizing grant of $10,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation.



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and administrative, for a total enrollment which rose from 84 to 124.

The school was able to expand so quickly because the new Stewart Hall, completed the year before, was assigned to it. The school had led a rather nomadic existence ever since its founding. Fluctuating enrollments in all the summer schools, new construction and renovation, and the shortage of good dining space, had created many problems. Now the Russian School was happy at being settled rather permanently in its new dormitory, with the two lower floors assigned to women and the two upper floors to men. But an overflow had to go down to Atwater House at the foot of the hill, proctored by the Pressmans, and four girls lived in Voter House (where Sunderland now stands). More serious was the fact that Stewart Hall had no dining room. The Hepburn dining hall was used, but it was not large enough; and 15 students had to go over to Willard (formerly Battell Cottage, now Adirondack House) which they promptly labelled "Siberia."

The session was highly successful; there were cordial relations between the two faculties, even though the salaries of the Institute people were higher. Reciprocal auditing between the technical and literary specialists was common. The Visiting Professor in the School was Mrs. Catherine Wolkonsky, Chairman of the Russian Department at Vassar College, giving the course in Methods. She was very well liked; the enrollment in the course, previously rather small, jumped to 25. She added a demonstration class at the high school level in which ten local youngsters enrolled. She continued until 1970 as a valuable teacher and Assistant to the Director, even after she became emerita at Vassar.

The students were carefully selected, usually after a personal or telephone interview by Fayer. Seven students came under the auspices of the Inter-University Committee on Travel Grants, of which Fayer was the official examiner. Ten officers were sent by the National Security Agency; and there were many army, navy, diplomatic, and Library of Congress officers. The prospect of training men like these undoubtedly influenced the Rockefeller Foundation in making the grant. Two plays were given in the newly opened Wright Memorial Theatre. The Amateur Night in McCullough Gymnasium was brilliant, with well-drilled folk-dancing and skits. Guest lecturers included Philip Mosely and Alexander Dallin. A photographer representing *America Illustrated,* published by the U.S. Information Agency for distribution in the Soviet Union, was on the campus for four days, taking hundreds of pictures, chiefly of students.

A memorable, and unpleasant, episode happened on July 15. A group of ten young Soviet students, touring the United States under the sponsorship and at the expense of the U.S. Department of State, arrived in Middlebury for a two-day visit. The official guide was our good friend John Wallace of the Experiment in International Living at Putney; and the accompanying interpreter was Miss Potter, a former student of the Russian School. The students in the group were friendly and amiable, but the Soviet leader named Bougrov was aggressive and mean-tempered. In a domineering manner, he proceeded to state his demands, and to insult everyone. The accompanying State Department sponsor, Mr. Falk, could do nothing with him. We had arranged to house and feed them (free of charge) with our Russian students. Bougrov demanded that his group be accommodated in a separate block of rooms; and stated that they were not to be permitted to talk with our students. We explained that we thought this was the purpose of the visit; and that in any case we had no free block of rooms, and could not vacate our dormitories. News reporters arrived; Bougrov refused to talk with anyone. Tempers mounted and insults flew. Bougrov threatened to take the whole group back to Putney that night. Intervening, I promised to study the situation while they had dinner. There was a school concert in the evening; the whole crowd sang together and mellowed a bit. Several of our students volunteered to give up their rooms, and eventually we were able to house all but three of the Soviet students in vacated quarters. Bougrov accepted this face-saving; and some of the students went folk-dancing and for a beer together.

Next morning, however, things turned sour again. Bougrov took his group to a class of Professor Timasheff, lecturing on Marxist theory; and after five minutes, rose and led them out in a demonstration. Dr. Fayer, naturally unhappy with this treatment, had a violent argument with Bougrov. Falk and Wallace stood by helplessly. The group left at noon in a tense atmosphere. Professor Timasheff, rather shaken, spoke to the Rotary Club that evening, at my invitation, a good objective talk on Soviet education. One of our students said afterward, "This episode has been worth the summer's tuition. I expect to be in the Soviet Union this fall, and this has been a most enlightening experience." It may be added that a decade later another State Department sponsored Soviet student group visited Middlebury, behaved themselves beautifully, and left pleasant memories.

The Rockefeller Foundation renewed its grant of $10,000 for the Institute of Soviet Studies for 1959. It was evidently pleased with the results of the first summer, and with the careful financial report submitted by Mr. Carroll Rikert, Business Manager. Actual income, from the grant plus tuition fees, exceeded the disbursements by $676. Dr. Fayer engaged the same faculty again, but varied the courses within the specializations of the four men. Enrollment in the Institute stood at 29, and in the school 107, for a total of 136, twelve more than the previous summer. Sixteen of the Institute students were returnees, nine from the Institute, seven from the School. Five students attended on full-expense grants from the Ford Foundation. Three came on grants from the Inter-University Committee. The Carnegie Foundation sent nine students to the School, to prepare for a 40-day tour of the Soviet Union.

Highly significant was the beginning of the N.D.E.A. (National Defense Education Act) Summer Institutes. At first, the Institutes gave us deep concern. Their large numbers, in all five of the Middlebury languages, at several levels, and geographically distributed, were serious competition. Students could not be blamed for accepting a full-expense appointment for the summer, even to an Institute inferior in quality to Middlebury. The N.D.E.A. Institutes also paid their faculty on a scale of two-ninths of winter salary, which was often nearly twice what we could pay at Middlebury. But the wave of publicity and popular opinion in favor of the oral teaching of foreign languages evidently brought us more students than we lost to the N.D.E.A. Institutes. The post-Sputnik era was most favorable to the study of Russian. Our Institute of Soviet Studies was exceedingly well timed.

The Rockefeller Foundation had said that the 1959 grant was terminal. It had probably assumed that the N.D.E.A. or other government agency would step in and subsidize our Institute. Under the Act, however, the Summer Language Institutes had to limit their clientele to secondary school teachers; and the prescribed program contained none of our Institute's specialized advanced courses in the sciences, economics and politics. On the other hand, the subsidized Area Centers of Russian, which did correspond somewhat to our Institute, were required to be in operation during the academic year, and were not approved for summer alone.

Strong representation of these facts, and of the equally clear situation that our Institute could not be supported by Middlebury on an unsubsidized budget, from tuition fees alone, was made to the Rockefeller Foundation. After some anxious weeks in the late fall, the Foundation informed us of a grant of $20,000 covering a three-year period, 1960-62. Of this sum, $10,000 was made available in 1960; the balance over the other two years; 1962 was to be considered terminal.

The faculty of the 1960 Institute remained the same, offering similar courses in their specialties: Timasheff on the Daily Life of the Soviet Citizen, and the Constitutional Structure of the U.S.S.R.; Taskin on the Geography, and the Economic Life of the U.S.S.R.; Efremov, two courses in Scientific Russian; Poltoratzky on Russia in the Imperial Age, and under the Soviets.

In the School in 1960, the Visiting Professor was Vladimir Sajkovic, Chairman of the Russian Department of Mount Holyoke College, teaching Literary Criticism, and Stylistics. Besides the "old guard", we note among the new names Vladimir Seduro of R.P.I., who had been Visiting Professor in 1959; and Eugen Klimoff, a talented artist, who taught in the sessions of 1960-62, and returning in 1968, is still on our faculty. The courses continued to follow the rotating program. The total student enrollment reached the historical highwater mark of 144, not since surpassed; 37 in the Institute and 107 in the school; 88 men, 56 women. Fifteen Master's degrees were awarded, also a record number.

A splendid physical improvement was made by the completion of Redfield Proctor Hall as the Dining-hall Student Center of the college. The dining and social arrangements for the Russian School had varied from poor to mediocre since its beginning. Now the lovely upstairs lounge in Proctor Hall was allocated to its almost exclusive use. It held all its general meetings, special lectures, exhibits, and social gatherings there. It shared the large dining room with the Spanish School, filling the north section to capacity with 144 students, while on the other side of an accordion-pleated partition, the Spanish School stayed within the south section's capacity of 240. Stewart Hall with Atwater and Voter Houses continued to be the school's dormitories.

This human interest item appeared in the *Rutland Herald* on February 9, 1960, under the caption "Cupid takes no holiday at Middlebury's Russian School." "Russian may be a romantic language, or maybe Russian literature is 'such stuff as dreams are made of', or something of the kind, to judge from statistics of the Russian department at Middlebury College. Reports of alumni-ae through the years show a remarkable percentage of weddings occuring (a) among students who first met while studying Russian at Middlebury, or (b) in instances where the Russian learned at Middlebury brought a student into contact with another knowing the language." The item went on to tell of the marriage of Barbara Widenor, a Russian major at Middlebury in 1958, who went to Moscow as a guide in the American Exhibition, to Peter Maggs, also a Russian-speaking American guide at the fair. Mary Louise McMahon was married to Dennis O'Connor at the first Solemn Nuptial Mass celebrated in Moscow in 15 years. The two had met the previous summer at Middlebury. She flew to Moscow for the wedding while he was studying there.

Romance was not the only way Middlebury's Russian students showed their initiative and individualism. One summer, a student complained that a monkey had attacked her. "Impossible", protested Dr. Fayer. But on investigation he found that it was only too true. One of the students had secretly kept a small monkey in his room since the beginning of the session. The monkey was "rusticated"; but a week later, the Superintendent of Buildings phoned Fayer to ask what he wanted done with a huge crated dog "he had ordered." Suspecting something, Fayer discovered that the same student had hoped to be more successful in concealing the big dog.

Curtailing the Institute budget for 1961 and 1962 was very difficult, especially in view of the high salaries paid in the N.D.E.A. Institutes. The remaining $10,000 of the Rockefeller grant was divided, $6,000 for 1961 and $4,000 for 1962. Fayer persuaded President Stratton and the trustees to accept a deficit operation in both years. This enabled him to continue a faculty of four. The same teachers returned in 1961; Alexander Korol of the M.I.T. Center for International Studies replaced Timasheff in 1962. He gave a new course on the Soviet Educational System.

In order to assist in balancing the Institute budget with tuition fees, Fayer accepted 44 students in 1961. The enrollment in the School dropped, however, to 88 in 1961, for a total of 132, causing a larger deficit than anticipated in the School's budget. In 1962, the Institute enrolled 36, the School 104; in 1963, 48 students enrolled in the Institute, 87 in the School. Signal evidence that the training afforded by the Institute was answering a real demand lies in the fact that of the eleven recipients of the M.A. in Russian in 1962, ten completed the requirements in the Institute; seven out of twelve in 1963.

All the schools suffered heavily from late cancellations. They totalled 44, or 33% of the enrollment, in Russian in 1961. These were students who had paid the reservation deposit, but never came. It was usually impossible to fill their places well at the last moment. Much of the difficulty was caused by the N.D.E.A. Institutes, numbering 72, which sent out their acceptances very late. Since they paid full expenses, their nominees (who had usually applied in several places) could afford to forfeit a deposit.

The Russian School was also hurt by the situation in the N.D.E.A. Fellowship program. The School and the Institute received hundreds of inquiries and scores of applications, which had to be processed by Fayer, with meager help. His selections were forwarded to Washington; some time later the successful candidates, often not his selections, were notified that they could attend any of the several institutions to which they had applied. Since Middlebury's was not a year-round program, most of the best applicants selected by Fayer went elsewhere. For example, in the spring of 1963, over a thousand general inquiries were answered; 42 firm applications were processed, 20 were recommended to Washington for awards. Only three received an award to Middlebury; one of these transferred to Michigan State. It was finally decided that our small gain did not correspond to the time spent, and we discontinued our participation in the N.D.E.A. Fellowship program. For much the same reason, Middlebury never applied to the N.D.E.A. for a Russian Summer Institute.

The N.D.E.A. programs and other dislocations caused a disproportionate number of changes in the Russian School's faculty. Four of the "old guard"—Pressman, Maltzoff, Fersen, and Mrs. Marianna Poltoratzky were replaced. Tatiana Kosinski of Vanderbilt University came as Visiting Professor, and returned several summers, teaching stylistics and folklore. Olga Lang of Swarthmore returned after a few summers' absence. The number of literature and civilization courses was reduced somewhat, but the quality was held high by the Yershovs, Seduro and Klimoff. Many students in the School took courses in the Institute, attracted by the reputation of its teachers. The Kalikins, absent for two summers, returned in 1963 and for several summers were the mainstay of the grammar courses. Dr. and Mrs. Fayer spent the first semester of 1961-62 on leave in Russia and elsewhere in Europe.

Tragedy struck on January 26, 1964. While Dr. Fayer was away on business, his wife Margaret was found dead in their home, of a massive heart attack, at the age of 53. Friends met him at the Burlington Airport with the sad news. Fayer was a broken, disoriented man for several months. He performed his duties for the college and the school in a thorough manner as usual, but mechanically; his heart was not in them. Margaret Fayer was a trained and efficient Librarian for the college. She was largely responsible for the great expansion of the library facilities by the addition of two fine modern wings, which are in a sense her memorial. At the same time she was the unofficial associate director of the Russian School, living in the school's dormitory, discreetly aiding and guiding the planning and execution of its policies, filling all the roles from charming social hostess to personal counsellor and tactful housemother, private secretary without remuneration, admired and beloved by all. Her death was a tragic loss to the whole college.

President Armstrong, assuming his responsibilities in September 1963, gave keen interest to the problems of the Russian School, which were in large part financial. During the last four summers of his directorship, Dr. Fayer experienced serious and increasing difficulty in securing the faculty that he wanted. There was really an extreme shortage of good Russian teachers especially for the literature courses. Old age and illness reduced the supply of the Russian-born émigrés of pre-Soviet days. Efremov died; Timasheff and Yershov were in poor health. Those remaining available were tempted by large salaries elsewhere. Mrs. Marianna Poltoratzky and Nicholas Poltoratzky (no relation) were lured away. Nine of the fifteen teachers had to be replaced for the summer of 1964.

Among the new names in the Institute were Nina Syniawska of Yeshiva University who taught scientific Russian; George Derugin of the University of Southern California who gave courses on geography and economics; Eugene Magerovsky of New York University, whose specialization was the social and political institutions of the Soviet; and Alexander Saharoff, an industrial engineer.

The Institute of Soviet Studies was continued as a separate unit of the Russian School. The evident reputation of the Institute made it good publicity to continue the separate name. It was still the only school in the country where a broad curriculum of Russian "area" courses was taught exclusively in Russian and in a Russian atmosphere.

The budgetary problem was severe, however. By enrolling a high percentage of the students in the Institute rather than in the School, and by charging only the salaries of the staff to the Institute budget, Fayer had succeeded in breaking even in the Institute, but the School budget sometimes showed a deficit. This arbitrary distinction was an illusion; so in 1964 the two budgets were combined even though the academic program was not. In that year, the cost of instruction alone in the combined Russian School was $174 per student, as compared with $138 in the Italian School and an average of $120 in the other schools. An increase of $30 in the tuition fee in 1965 permitted increases in faculty salaries, and the cost of instruction per student in the Russian School jumped to $226. Successive increases in the tuition fee were made, totalling over $100 in four years, from $230 in 1964 to $330 in 1967. The tuition fee was ten dollars higher in the Russian School than in the others. The reason was clearly the very competitive market for competent native teachers of Russian area studies.

Dr. Fayer struggled valiantly to effect economies. In 1964 and 1965, only three courses in literature besides Folklore were offered; all the courses in civilization were given in the Institute. Later, the offerings in literature were increased by one or two, but major emphasis was still placed on the rotating program, a total of only eleven in a four-year period. They were: Survey of Literature to 1800; Drama, Poetry, and the Masters of the 19th Century; the Short Story, Literary Criticism, Modern Fiction; Pushkin, Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Gorky. The Methods course was given regularly by Kalikin. The courses in the language—grammar, oral practice, phonetics, stylistics, history of the language—did not rotate, and remained strong, serving both the School and the Institute.

The chief weakness of the "rotation" is that it suits well a student who returns each summer; but a student who is obliged to skip a summer or two, as often happens, may find himself confronted by courses he has already had. The emphasis on "area" courses had another weakness. Although very popular for several years, as time passed and the Sputnik era lay farther behind, the demand for detailed work on Soviet science or the administrative structure diminished considerably. Enrollments in Russian fell off from the high point of 144 in 1960 to 103 in 1967.

In 1964 the School's faculty stabilized again, and remained essentially the same during the last four years of Dr. Fayer's directorship. New faces were Gleb Žekulin of McGill University, who came as Visiting Professor in 1963 and returned each summer; Helen Isyumov of the University of Western Ontario; Professor and Mrs. Mark Liwszyc of Brooklyn College; Mrs. Alla Klimov of New York University; and Richard Janin who also directed dramatics. In 1967, Vladimir Grebenschikov, a philologist from Michigan State, came as the Visiting Professor. Mrs. Normano was regularly the Executive Secretary. Completing the staff were the "old hands"—Mrs. Wolkonsky, Assistant to the Director; Katherine Alexeieff and Professor and Mrs. Eugen Kalikin, all four of whom had earned the Middlebury Master's degree; and Eleena Vukanovich.

Dr. Fayer's courage and initiative revived gradually. A semester's leave, travelling in Russia and Israel in late 1964 did much for him. The faithful support of his faculty strengthened him, and the school's activities were good therapy. The plays were well done; the amateur night, with its beautifully costumed folk dances, drew large audiences from the other schools and from the town. Little celebration was made, however, of the twentieth anniversary of the school in 1964, in deference to Mrs. Fayer's memory.

At the August Commencement, the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on Philip E. Mosely, Director of the European Institute and Associate Dean of the School of International Affairs, of Columbia University. Dr. Mosely had been a pioneer in the intensive study of Russian at Cornell University, and at Columbia; and had served many government boards by his profound understanding of Soviet affairs. He had long been a friend of our Russian School. In his excellent address, he capsulized his life philosophy by saying, "The prospects for peace, a stronger freedom, and for orderly progress toward cooperation in the world depend to an important degree on the ability of Americans and other nations to understand each other in a truly deep human sense."

Important improvements took place in the physical facilities. The Russian School occupied one section of Allen Hall in the summers of 1964 through 1966. This attractive dormitory, adjacent to the Château, was designed by Dean Elizabeth Kelly and myself specifically as a foreign language facility, for three or four entirely separable language units, with lounge, study room, and resident's suite in each unit. In late August of 1965, the Russian School office was moved from Hillcrest into the fine new Sunderland Language Center. Fayer selected as his free choice the only windowless and air-conditioned office in the building.

Dr. Fayer reached the age of 65 in May 1967 and in June was named Professor Emeritus of Russian in the college. He retired as Director of the Russian Summer School at the close of the 1967 session, the 23rd of the school. On Sunday, August 13, the Russian School held special final exercises, with a reception in his honor. A faculty gift was presented by Magerovsky. The students presented gifts also, and named him Permanent Honorary President of the Alumni Association. The Alumni subscribed a generous sum to name Stack Section No. 32 in Starr Library in honor of Mischa and Margaret Fayer. Their Margaret Fayer Memorial Scholarship still continues to aid a student each summer. Her portrait, done by Robert Reiff, hangs in the Library.

In a brief address at these exercises, I recounted the founding of the school 23 years before, the unique qualifications which Dr. Fayer had brought to the task, his clear concept of the objectives of the school, and his tenacity and patience in bringing them to fruition. I said in closing, "Mischa Fayer, Middlebury College congratulates you and thanks you for the vision you had in 1943 of the Russian Summer School. We applaud you even more for the courageous and constructive way in which you have brought it to effective realization. You have builded well, overcoming many difficulties and solving many problems. The edifice is solid and durable. Your successors, whoever they may be, will find the right course charted and the essential guidelines clear. The comprehensive program and the high quality of instruction, with its basic rotating courses; the special characteristics and spirit of the school, its extra-curricular activities and its devoted group of alumni—these are the real tribute to you, and they will endure." At the Commencement exercises on August 15, President Armstrong also spoke warmly of his service to the college.

Dr. Fayer was immediately appointed Chairman of the Department of Slavic and Oriental Languages at the University of Kentucky in Lexington. In good health and with a rich experience in both teaching and administration to apply to problems of reorganization there, he found himself very active. He was made a member of the graduate faculty, of the Curriculum Committee, and was soon included in a hospitable social community. He married Miss Florence Lewis in May, 1968. He continued to teach at Kentucky until June of 1972 when he retired definitively. He and Mrs. Fayer enjoy travel, and they plan to visit many places around the world.

At the Middlebury Commencement exercises of August 1969, he was awarded the degree of Doctor of Letters, honoris causa. In presenting the diploma, President Armstrong said in part,—"You pioneered among American institutions in founding at Middlebury not only a school where the Russian language and literature are studied intensively, but also an area program where instruction in Russian geography, history, economics and political institutions is given exclusively in Russian by outstanding authorities. . . . We remember also your great contributions to the materials and techniques for the teaching of Russian in this country, combining the insights of a skillful teacher with the resources of a scholar. Middlebury College delights to honor you as a good and faithful servant."

Chapter 4

Policies and Problems 1946-1970

The Situation
Cohesion and Cooperation
Academic Quality
Finances
Physical Facilities
Enrollments and Publicity
Bread Loaf, School of English and Writers' Conference

The Situation

The last years of World War I and the years immediately following saw an almost complete change in the chief administrators of the Middlebury Language Schools. President Moody resigned in June 1942, and Dr. Samuel S. Stratton was appointed President in January 1943. I served as Acting President during the interim and was then named Vice President in January. Harry G. Owen, Director of the Bread Loaf School of English, was granted leave of absence to enter the service in 1942 and subsequently accepted a position at Rutgers University. Hewette E. Joyce, Professor of English at Dartmouth, directed the school through the summer of 1945. Professor Reginald L. "Doc" Cook was appointed Director in 1946. André Morize of Harvard, Director of the French School, was on leave in the summer of 1945, returned for the summer of 1946, and resigned at the end of that summer. Vincent Guilloton was named in his place. The Russian School was founded in 1945 with Dr. Mischa H. Fayer as Director. Professor Ernst Feise of Johns Hopkins, Director of the German School, was present but ill during the summer of 1947 and absent in 1948, resigning at the end of the summer. Dr. Werner Neuse of Middlebury replaced him. Dr. Camillo Merlino of Boston University, Director of the Italian School, resigned for reasons of health in 1947, and Dr. Salvatore J. Castiglione, then at Yale, was designated to fill his place. Dr. Juan Centeno, head of the Spanish School, died in June 1949 after a long illness. He had been assisted by the new Dean, Samuel Guarnaccia of Middlebury. The direction of the school was assured, first by Dr. Joaquín Casalduero, and later by Dr. Angel del Río, both of New York University. Only the Writers' Conference continued without change under Professor Theodore Morrison of Harvard, Director since 1932.

Besides these changes in chief personnel, many other variations occurred in the schools. Enrollments fluctuated markedly. There was a severe decline in the French School in the early part of the war, paralleled by a strong increase in Spanish, as teachers converted from French to Spanish. All but Spanish showed a decline at first, followed by a strong surge to maximum capacities as veterans returned with federal subsidies. A difficult problem was the allocation of physical facilities, since in the summers of 1943-45 the Navy V-12 Unit also had to be accommodated, along with a small enrollment of the regular college. The English School and the Writers' Conference had to share the Bread Loaf plant with the Spanish School. The French and Italian Schools on the campus found isolation from English very difficult. Financial problems were severe, confused, and different: the relation of summer to winter budgets, the allocation of general costs and overhead, the higher unit costs of the smaller schools, the year-round cost of the Bread Loaf plant.

The situation created not only an opportunity but an obligation for the new President Samuel Stratton to make a thorough analysis of the overall problems and the particular difficulties of each school; and to establish the policies—academic, physical, and financial—needed to favor the development of the schools. As a trained economist, fresh from an important government war-time position, he undertook to apply impartial, impersonal standards to all the schools. He wished to treat them all alike, so to speak; expecting each to follow the same pattern, and to show a net profit for the use of the whole college.

He soon found that this bureaucratic ideal did not correspond to the circumstances. The Middlebury Language Schools are not like government bureaus. Each school was a different entity, even a personality. Each school had evolved separately, distinctively, with differing traditions, life and habits, and to some extent differing clientele and objectives. The German School in Bristol had almost nothing in common with the English School at Bread Loaf. Even the Russian School on campus had little in common with the Italian School, except that they were small and wanted to stay as far apart as possible. Their curriculum, their extra-curricular activities, their type of student and their atmosphere were strikingly dissimilar. Each school presented diverse aspects of the central problems which confronted the president as he sought to establish policies.

For three years, Dr. Stratton endeavored to familiarize himself with the situation. But he had other pressing duties, above all to adapt the college to war-time conditions, and after 1945 to transform it back to a peace-time college. Most of the language school directors were not at Middlebury for consultation during the winter; and during the summer Dr. Stratton was miserable with asthma. He delegated some tasks to me as Vice President, and I helped whenever I could, but he wished to hold the authority. Since I was at the same time Dean of the French School, it was delicate for me to interfere in the affairs of the other schools. I wrote for him a general report on all the schools for the summers of 1943 and 1944, commenting especially on the operating costs, and with recommendations about budgets and housing assignments under war-time conditions.

In May 1945, a few days after hostilities ceased in Europe, Dr. Stratton permitted me to accept a commission in the I. and E. Division of the U.S. Army

SAMUEL S. STRATTON
President of Middlebury College, 1943-1963

with an appointment as Chief of the Liberal Arts Section of the Biarritz-American University, and Head of the Language Branch. After a period spent at the Pentagon recruiting faculty, I left in mid-June for France. Before leaving, I made a report on the preparations for the forthcoming summer, anticipated enrollments, dormitory assignments, and other plans. The work at Biarritz was exciting, and a valuable experience. The faculty members of the Liberal Arts Section numbered 88, selected among the best from American universities. I made many contacts in the Army and in France, which proved to be valuable to Middlebury later. I had committed myself for a year, but problems were arising in the Language Schools, and at Stratton's request, I applied for early release. Arriving in Middlebury in late January 1946, I returned at once to my two desks, in Old Chapel and in Le Château. Claude Bourcier had acted as Dean of the French School in my stead. The summer of 1946 was André Morize's farewell as Director, and we all did our best to make it a glorious, albeit a sad one.

Soon after the rush of college opening was over in September, Dr. Stratton and I began a series of conferences on the structure and policies of the Language Schools, he seeking ways to coordinate and standardize their operation, centralize the control, stabilize their enrollments, and increase their profits by increasing the fees. While agreeing with much of this, I argued in favor of encouraging the initiative and individuality of each school, and of protecting their academic excellence by devoting a major share of the tuition fees to faculty salaries.

The most immediate problem was the succession of André Morize. In October Stratton asked me to accept the headship of the French School. After several good conversations, I consented, on condition that the policies which had created an outstanding school be continued, with autonomy in the appointment of faculty within an undiminished budget, and the appointment of a Visiting Director in full charge of instruction and with freedom to promote the school's distinctive character.

No action was taken. Then on November 8, Dr. Stratton surprised me by saying that he wished to name me Director of the Language Schools. His letter of November 19, 1946 confirmed the appointment in these terms: . . . "It is my understanding that as of today your title will be Vice President and Director of the Middlebury College Language Schools. As you know, the Schools under your administration will be as follows: French School, German School, Italian School, Russian School, Spanish School. You will act for me with regard to all administrative problems in respect to these Schools, and you will coordinate the work of the Schools. You will of course be responsible for the academic standing of all Schools under your direction. You will submit budgets through Mr. French to the Budget Committee of the Trustees who will make final decisions on budgetary matters. Annual reports from the Directors of the Schools should be made to you, and you in turn present a summarized report to me. Matters of general policy as distinct from administration will be determined by the President and Trustees of the college. Your advice and comment on policy matters will always be most welcome". . . . The Bread Loaf School of English and the Writers' Conference were not included in my responsibility until 1952.

I accepted with much reluctance. For twenty-one years, the French Summer School had been one of the central interests of my life. Now it had to be relinquished to others, along with the close personal friendships with faculty and students it had meant. The myriad of details that flooded through the Château office, sometimes irksome, but usually bringing a happy contact with students' hopes and ambitions, would now be handled by others, and I would see them only from a distance, and in general. Or so I feared. Fortunately, my fears were groundless. Especially through the D.M.L. program, the Schools Abroad, and the Alumni groups, I was able to remain in personal touch with many, though fewer, of the students. On the other hand, I had the pleasure of knowing far more of the faculty of the other schools. As for administrative details, instead of diminishing, they quadrupled.

Following my recommendation, Vincent Guilloton, Professor at Smith College, who had frequently been Assistant and Acting Director of the French School, was appointed Morize's successor. Claude Bourcier, member of the French Department at Middlebury since 1937, and Acting Dean in my absence in 1945, was named Dean to succeed me. I had worked closely with both, and had full confidence in their ability and will to maintain the standards and orientation set by Morize. I retained a desk in the Château office during the winter, since I continued as Chairman of the French Dept. and of the Language Division, teaching regular classes nine hours a week.

Thus began a period of twenty-four years filled with complex responsibilities. The main outlines of the task became gradually clear: to create optimum cohesion and mutual cooperation between the schools, while allowing as much autonomy as would be beneficial; to raise the academic quality of all the schools by all possible approaches; to develop sound financial policies which would strengthen the schools, consistent with the overall good of the entire college; to increase the enrollments by quality performance and high-class publicity; to insist upon the best possible physical facilities; and to allocate them impartially according to the character and needs of each school. Innumerable problems and obstacles confronted these objectives. My long apprenticeship in the French School bore fruit, giving me an indispensable insight into the detailed operation of each school.

Two aspects of the situation might have caused difficulty but never did. President Stratton, my superior, having entrusted me with certain authority and concomitant responsibilities, never interfered with my mandate. I reported regularly to him, and on occasion went to him for advice, which he gave gladly. He and the Trustees made the top-level policy decisions, usually on matters of budget, and my recommendations were almost always followed. He never concerned himself with academic matters, leaving them entirely in my bailiwick. On account of his asthma, he often spent parts of the summer elsewhere. He gave me the feeling of being in full charge and completely responsible. When Dr. James I. Armstrong came to the presidency in 1963, he continued the same policy toward the Language Schools and toward me. Definitely interested and eager to become acquainted with the schools, ready to do his part at all times, he nevertheless did not intervene in their operation. I had the sensation of being entirely free to act within my authority, and fully trusted.

The other aspect concerned my impartiality among the schools. Upon my appointment, there was a quite natural fear among some that my long association with the French School would incline me to some favoritism; that I would give the French School preference in a choice. After the first year, I believe that my fairness was completely established. Sometimes even, friends in the French School implied that I was "leaning over backwards." Complete neutrality was not always a simple matter. The largest schools had the greatest needs, yet the needs of the smaller schools were often relatively greater. In any case, I do not know that I was ever seriously accused of giving unfair advantage to the French School.

Cohesion and Cooperation

Among the objectives named above, the most immediate was the creation of cohesion and cooperation among the several schools. Historically there had been little or none. For many years, the French and Spanish Schools were the only ones on the campus; the German School was in Bristol. Their heads had reported individually and directly to President Moody. Except for the Editor of the Bulletins, and for the Office of the Summer Schools (still so-called as late as 1947) in matters of room assignments, each school had gone its own way. The Italian School had at first been a child of the French School, and a parent-child affection still continued; but under Dr. Merlino it had achieved its adulthood and independence. The Russian School, founded in 1945, was still an infant.

One of my first acts as Director was to arrange a meeting in Middlebury on January 18, 1947 of all the directors and deans of the five schools. Juan Centeno, ill, was unable to attend. Feise, Guilloton and Merlino came up by train;

RESIDENT DIRECTORS AND DEANS OF THE LANGUAGE SCHOOLS, 1948
Left to right: Messrs. Bourcier, Fayer, Freeman, Neuse, Centeno, Guarnaccia

Bourcier, Fayer and Neuse met with us at Le Château. Dr. Stratton joined us for dinner. We talked until nearly midnight. The major item of business, beside plans for the summer, was "greater coordination and mutual assistance". In a most cordial atmosphere, we discussed the future needs of the schools, especially as they involved common interests and arrangements.

The group met again in August, then twice in the following summers, regularly at least three times each summer beginning in 1950. It became known as the Council of Directors and Deans, and grew rapidly in importance, with authority in academic matters. The Director of the School of English was always invited, but since the academic and physical problems of Bread Loaf were quite different, he did not usually attend. The Council performed an important function in standardizing the requirements and procedures for the degrees of M.A., and D.M.L. The several schools had drifted into widely varying rules on the Master's degree. Particularly loose were the policies on the acceptance of credits for work done in other institutions, the number acceptable, whether in literature or language; and on the time limit for the expiration of credits earned at Middlebury or elsewhere. It was clearly unwise for either the director of a school or myself to act as the authority in deciding the many irregular cases that occurred. Laxness and inflexibility were equally to be avoided. The Council spent many hours acting upon requests from students for special exceptions to rules concerning equivalences of foreign study and degrees, transfer of credits, specific subject matter requirements; and the whole gamut of academic discipline over students and professors.

In accordance with a vote of the Trustees in 1950, the Council assumed full authority for all requirements for degrees granted during the summer session. It acted therefore as the Graduate Committee for the Language Schools. The Committee on Graduate Work of the winter college was neither available during the summer, nor actually competent on foreign language matters. At various times, suggestions were made by the winter college faculty that it should have certain controls over the summer degrees. It remained my firm policy that the winter faculty or its committees had no jurisdiction over the summer program, its degrees or requirements; that winter and summer were two independent units, answerable on an equal footing to the President and Trustees of the college. I am happy to say that the Trustees have always supported this position. The

Council was valuable in convincing all concerned that standards of quality were being upheld.

The Council was most helpful in bringing out into the open for discussion many matters of mutual concern over which it did not have authority. Important among these were the physical facilities made available by the college, their allocation between the schools, their shortcomings and problems, the constantly increasing needs for better equipment. The library service, the food and dining-room service, student complaints, problems of noise, auto parking—these and many other topics came out in Council meetings. Armed with full information, I was then able to secure the optimum solution from the proper service department.

Major steps were taken in 1947 to standardize the enrollment procedures in the schools. The actual registration continued to be handled in each school separately, where alone the student could be interviewed, in the foreign language, about his selection of courses. Enrollment cards were then sent to the Secretary of the Language Schools; the student paid his bill at the Treasurer's Office; and at the end of the first week, class lists were sent by me to the Registrar's Office. The Dean of each school was held responsible for the accuracy of all these records, now centralized. Auditors were permitted to attend classes in any of the schools as silent listeners. Their advertising value was highly estimated.

Tight control of enrollees and auditors was necessary, not only for class attendance, but because the problem of transients was often serious. With the growth of the schools, it was decided that we could no longer accept visitors for a night or two as in the past. A week's board and room plus the auditor's fee was set as a minimum. An occasional non-paying visitor in our classes did us no harm. But we had frequent cases of transient "chiselers" who occupied an empty dormitory room or slept on a divan in a salon, and disappeared before we got the maid's report. Only rarely were they friends of students; more often they were hitch-hikers travelling through, or fraternity boys from other colleges who thought their fraternity houses should be hospitable. Our dining-rooms were rarely bothered by "chiselers" because of the language requirement, and the table service with all seats assigned. Cafeteria service without assigned seating is much more vulnerable.

With the mechanism for joint action among the schools established, several important services could be initiated. An essential project was a general phonetics laboratory for all the schools. The French School had had its own language laboratory since 1926, one of the earliest in the country. The other schools had of course given instruction in phonetics and pronunciation, but had never had a well-organized language laboratory. This seemed to me a vital need, and I proceeded at once to create one in the little Hillside Cottage on Château Road. Up-to-date equipment was purchased, and a trained technician placed in charge. The Russian School used it intensively from the start; the German School sent its phonetics class down from Bristol once a week. Within two summers it was already too small. The full development of the Language Laboratory at Middlebury is recounted in Chapter 5.

Experiments in joint courses, shared by two or more schools, and necessarily taught in English, had been tried in the past and found interesting. Henry Grattan Doyle, Dean of George Washington University; James B. Tharp of Purdue; and Elton Hocking, then at Northwestern, had given courses in Methods of Teaching, open to all the schools. A course in Romance Linguistics was given for many summers by Louis Solano of Harvard. After careful discussion in the Council, it was agreed to discontinue such courses. They were well taught, and the students had profited professionally. The objection was simply that those courses increased beyond tolerable limits the amount of English used by the student, and consequently destroyed his "immersion" in the foreign language, not only in those classes, but in his entire attitude toward his "pledge".

The Council also proved to be an effective watchdog over the general enforcement of the pledge, which was defined not merely as the avoidance of English, but as the exclusive use of the language of the student's own school. Visits to students in other schools, exchange of meals in other dining halls, and other fraternization were carefully limited. The old Friday evening general dance had long since been discontinued. The schools, becoming more cohesive at the administrative level, sought the maximum of isolation for their students.

Another greatly needed service was the coordination of the extra-curricular activities. These five schools with over 700 students, together on a small campus after 1951, each with its full program of plays, lectures, concerts, movies, and sports, began to get very much in each other's way. I initiated a complete weekly calendar of special activities, carefully checked to eliminate conflicts. The French School usually gave four or five plays, the other schools two or three. Rehearsals, scene construction, and performances had to be dovetailed into the old Playhouse on Weybridge St., later burned, and replaced by Wright Memorial Theatre, with McCullough Gymnasium as an indispensable auxiliary.

For the first time, in 1947, all the schools presented a sound motion picture at the Campus Theatre in the village. Dealing directly with the manager, I hired the theatre for six successive Wednesdays, and by pooling the receipts, covered expenses. The college's motion picture facilities were never satisfactory until Sunderland was built. Each school arranged a Sunday evening concert in Mead Chapel, rotating the Sundays from year to year. Again, by pooling some of the budget, the smaller schools were enabled to get excellent artists. Chapel exercises, special lectures by visiting celebrities, picnics, song-fests, student talent nights (variously labelled Amateur Night, Soirée de Variétés, Las Barbaridades) kept each week's schedule well filled. It often required alertness and ingenuity to avoid conflicts. The resulting calendar was published as the News of the Week, and widely distributed, not only in all the schools, but to members of the winter college faculty and staff, and as a courtesy to the community at large, many of whom attended regularly.

The problem of secretarial assistance was difficult. The smaller schools did not need and could not afford a full-time secretary during the winter. They shared the time of secretaries permanently attached to the Language Schools Office, and supplemental help was provided as needed. I endeavored to have as much as possible of the general routine work done in the central office, particularly matters of room assignments, billing, and veterans' papers. The head of the central office, called the Secretary of the Language Schools, had been for many years Mrs. Pamelia S. Powell; then for ten years she was Miss Margaret Hopkins. She was succeeded in 1957 by Mrs. Barbara Filan. Other long-time members of the central secretarial staff were Mrs. Evelyn Kinard, Mrs. Ena Korn, and Mrs. Evelyn Shepard. Great credit must be given to the hard work and the personal interest of these and many other faithful aides.

Not all the secretarial service could be centralized there, however, as Dr. Stratton had wished. The Dean's correspondence with students on academic matters had to be handled where his files were, in his own office. During the summer, each school had to have its own secretary, fluent in the foreign language, and familiar with the academic files. A complete change-over in June would have been disruptive. Each Director or Dean, therefore, had his own separate office on campus, with the necessary secretarial help, winter and summer, under arrangements that varied according to the size of the school. Overarching this whole problem is the vital necessity that each school have a responsible head, resident in Middlebury during the winter, in full charge, Dean or Director, whatever he may be called. A Visiting Director or Dean, absent during the winter, cannot do the job, no matter how much secretarial help is provided.

Every summer, some weeks before the opening of school, I sent to each director and dean a "Memo of Information and Requests" in several pages, giving the procedures for registration, schedules of events, instructions about the use of certain facilities, hours of the Library, snack bar, language laboratory, college offices, bookstore; car registration and parking rules; and general information to be distributed to students in the foreign language. A telephone directory of useful numbers was distributed. Each director was asked to prepare and distribute in the third week a directory of his school, with local and home addresses. In later years, as the number of autos on campus increased greatly, cars were registered by Campus Security. Parking regulations were strictly enforced, in many ways more stringent than in the winter.

In July 1947, Mrs. Freeman and I held the first reception, continued annually, for all members of the faculties and staffs of all the schools. The chief purpose was to enable those in one school to get acquainted with those in the other schools. Many thrilling meetings were witnessed when friends long separated met, perhaps not knowing that each other was here, or when mutual friends were discovered through introductions. Many lasting friendships were begun on the basis of common interests.

The Commencement Exercises of all five schools combined were organized on a more formal basis. They were held in Mead Chapel, with an academic procession of the Directors and Deans accompanied by the organ, and an address by a visiting dignitary who received an honorary degree. The President presided, introduced the speaker, and awarded the diplomas to the candidates individually as their names were called by the school's director. Academic regalia was worn by those in the procession, and by the recipients of the Doctorate in Modern Languages. At first held on Monday, they were held on Tuesday beginning in 1953, in order to allow more time for students to prepare for final examinations. The exercises, which had been rather informal under President Moody, became an impressive occasion, and a fitting conclusion to the session.

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Academic Quality

My chief and increasingly vital objective was to raise the academic quality of all the schools by all possible means. In fact, the administration of a school can really have no other basic objective. All other aims—organization, recruitment of faculty and students, finances, physical facilities, publicity—all these must serve the central purpose of providing better instruction, a better environment in which the student can learn. The others are essential but only because they are the means by which the desired quality of instruction can be created.

Originally, the reputation of Middlebury's foreign language summer schools depended not so much on academic superiority, as upon the successful application of a new and unique idea. The founders—Fräulein Stroebe, M. de Visme, Señor Lacalle—selected their teachers and planned their courses primarily in order to give the student an oral control of the foreign language, through a method still in the pioneering stage. Intellectual content was less important than the skillful application of the method, and the teachers were chosen by this criterion. Some of them were college professors, but resourceful secondary school teachers were often better suited to the objective. Most of the courses were concerned almost exclusively with the practice of the language. Indeed, such was the academic quality actually most needed at that time.

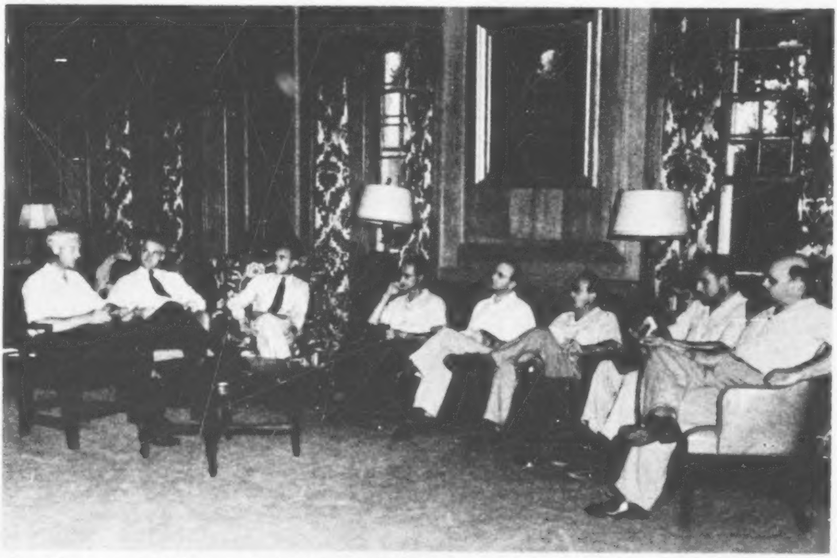
With the general acceptance of the Middlebury idea came the obligation to increase the intellectual content of Middlebury's program. André Morize, the great builder of Middlebury's reputation, was ideally situated at Harvard to recruit university teachers and to win the approval of the American university system. He set the model, which Ernst Feise, Juan Centeno, and Camillo Merlino followed in the ensuing decades. By 1947, of the 69 teachers employed by the five foreign language schools, all but eleven were members of college-university faculties, and those eleven were specialists in some area like the theatre, or secondary school methods. The same pattern was maintained through the years, along with the growth of the schools. In 1970, in the five schools, of 104 teachers, only 16 were not college-university teachers, almost the same proportion, and for the same reasons. The faculty-student ratio has held fairly constant in all the schools through the years, approximately one to eight, even a little better in the smaller schools.

The high quality of the teaching faculty, their competence in their scholarly fields, made it possible to offer graduate courses in the literature and civilization of each language. The intermediate courses in grammar and oral practice still answered a need, but they gradually diminished in relative importance. The great majority of the courses dealt with literary periods, genres and authors; and with the history, geography, music, art, and philosophy. Survey courses of the usual undergraduate type disappeared also, being considered a pre-requisite for graduate work. Even the advanced oral practice courses were so structured that the students prepared discussions on cultural topics.

These trends were already clear in 1946. My mission was to promote them in every possible way. This was best done, I believed, by giving each director complete autonomy in the selection of his faculty and the makeup of his curriculum, within his budget and the definition of his school. He was encouraged to use initiative and imagination in finding new and interesting people, teachers who would contribute some new element to the program, some new feature to the life of the school. I stood ready to give help when asked, but limited my comments and suggestions to matters of major overall policy. The meetings of the Council were helpful in this respect. I felt that the director knew his field, his profession, his country, and the personalities involved better than I did; and as long as he was the director, he was trusted.

The quality of the Middlebury schools was greatly enhanced by a rapid increase in their international contacts and atmosphere. The institution of the Visiting Professor had been started early. André Morize began bringing two or three teachers directly from France. As air travel became more common, it was possible to attract many more teachers from abroad, not only men of letters, but artists, historians, philosophers. Juan Centeno took advantage of the presence of distinguished fugitives from the Spanish Civil War. He also invited diplomats and government officials from Latin America. Neuse, Guilloton and Boorsch were especially successful in increasing their international contacts.

In 1950, seven teachers came from France directly to the French School; three came from overseas to the Spanish School; there were none from Germany. By comparison, in 1965, thirteen came directly from French educational institutions, six from Germany, and seven from Spain or Spanish America. Sometimes the budget could pay little more than their air ticket, but they welcomed the experience, and the schools profited from the fresh attitudes and viewpoints.



The Directors and Deans of the Language Schools in 1952 meet in Old Chapel under the portrait of Middlebury's first president, Jeremiah Atwater. Left to right: Messrs. Freeman, Guilloton, Castiglione, Neuse, Fayer, del Rio, Guarnaccia, Bourcier

Teachers familiar with American students and their psychology can sometimes interpret a foreign language and culture more effectively; but especially for advanced students, the thinking and the real atmosphere of a foreign people can be represented only by those who come new and "uncontaminated" from abroad. Only by bringing a high proportion of such people to teach here can Middlebury truthfully invite students to "study abroad at Middlebury".

The founding of Middlebury's four graduate schools abroad resulted in a significant expansion of our international contacts. Negotiations and programs brought the directors and myself into close and friendly touch with the foreign university rectors and professors. Dr. Wentzlaff-Eggebert of Mainz, Dr. Manuel García-Blanco of Salamanca, Dr. and Mrs. Giacomo Devoto of Florence came as Visiting Professors. Mme Jeanne Daladier of Paris, Eduardo Camacho Guizado of Bogotá, and many of the teachers in the universities abroad have taught in the Middlebury summer schools. Not only have our schools abroad given us an international reputation for excellence; they have also furnished us with important bases for the recruitment of faculty for the summer schools. The creation of the Chinese and Japanese Schools added another dimension to our prestige and broadened our intellectual and cultural contacts.

An indication of the quality and the fame of the Language Schools is seen in the frequent visits by national agencies. The Voice of America, the magazine *America,* the Department of State, the Department of Health, Education, Welfare, the Central Intelligence Agency, and many others, have sent teams, some with photographers, to inspect the schools and interview faculty and students. The College has honored many international figures with its honorary degree at the summer Commencement, and has been honored by their acceptance: Juan Trippe, Louis Joxe, Kenneth Holland, William Riley Parker, James E. Allen, Jr., Édouard Morot-Sir, Henri Peyre, Bruno Werner and many others.

The scholarly and professional activities of the schools' directors have contributed significantly to Middlebury's distinction. A few illustrations will suffice. Werner Neuse was President of the American Association of Teachers of German; Editor-in-Chief of the *German Quarterly*; a First Vice-President of the Modern Language Association; received the Goethe Medal and the Grand Cross of the Federal Republic of Germany; and wrote or edited many text-books. Vincent Guilloton was President of the Fédération de l'Alliance Française, Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur, author of many scholarly articles. Jean Boorsch, likewise Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur, is widely known as the best American authority on Descartes, and for his direction of French studies at Yale, both at the graduate and undergraduate levels. Salvatore Castiglione, decorated by the Italian Government as Cavaliere Officiale Ordine al Merito della Repubblica Italiana, is known widely for his leadership in Italian studies, and in the American Association of Teachers of Italian. Mischa Fayer's textbooks and articles on the teaching of Russian were nationally used; and he was active in the associations of teachers of the Slavic languages. All the directors of the Spanish School, perhaps less involved in teachers' organizations, were famous for their scholarly work: Francisco García-Lorca for studies on his brother Federico; Joaquín Casalduero and Ángel del Río for monumental works of literary criticism; Emilio González-López for his *History of Spanish Literature,* and his eulogy of his native province of Galicia.

Endeavoring to encourage all such activities by example as well as by official support, and especially in order to enlarge for Middlebury my professional contacts, I personally devoted much time and attention to the various language teachers' associations. I was President of the American Association of Teachers of French for four years, twice President of the National Federation of Modern Language Teachers Associations. I was a member of the Steering Committee of the Foreign Language Program of the M.L.A. from its inception in 1950 until 1958. For several years I served on the M.L.A. Commission on Trends in Education; and on the Committee on Languages of the American Council of Learned Societies. I took an active part in the Northeast Conference from its beginning in 1954, and wrote reports for it on the Qualifications of Foreign Language Teachers, and on Study Abroad. The Conference gave me in 1968 its first Annual Award for Outstanding Service and Leadership. For several years I edited the annual Language Number of the magazine *Education*.

My six years as editorial adviser to Ginn and Co. gave me familiarity with text-book making, and I assisted several Middlebury people to publish teaching material. Partly as a result of the success of our Schools Abroad, the Institute of International Education asked me to be a Consultant. I published with them two books on *Undergraduate Study Abroad*, with definitive statements on policy in that area. For the I.I.E., I surveyed the possibilities of study in South American universities, during a semester's leave in 1962-63. The Fédération de l'Alliance Française named me President for two years, 1957-59.

For three decades, national, regional and state teachers' associations invited me to address their gatherings. My subjects were usually the importance of language study, the most effective methods, and the preparation of language teachers. These occasions gave me an undisguised opportunity to publicize Middlebury, and to signalize its leadership in the field. My addresses were usually published in the *Modern Language Journal*, the *French Review*, or other professional journals, thus reaching an even wider audience. The French Government named me Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur in 1949, and in 1968 Commandeur à l'Ordre des Palmes Académiques. I have always felt that my service to my profession, and whatever honors it brought, contributed to the greater service and the greater honor of Middlebury College.

Middlebury's high academic quality had a uniqueness which no other language school has been able to equal: its atmosphere. This was compounded of several "ingredients"—the superior instruction, the exclusive use of the foreign language unquestioningly accepted, the beautiful location on a small Vermont campus. The leaven was all-important. Faculty and students, men and women, young and old, fluent and hesitant, all were immediately caught up in the atmosphere of informal, unaffected friendliness. Professional barriers were down. Newcomers were amazed to see it happen so quickly. It came hardest to the professors arriving from abroad, where university life is circumscribed by rigid formality. A university professor in Germany or France would not dream of chatting after class with a student, much less going for a swim with him. French visitors were once horrified to see a Sorbonne professor playing the role of a drunk in a comedy staged in the Playhouse. An alexandrine written about

Morize's Sunday activity could be equally applied to the other teachers: "Et pasteur le matin il fut pitre le soir" (He preached in the morn; at eve he played the clown). The foreign professors caught the spirit quickly, and most of them were generous and charming in devoting their entire day to the students.

The fast pace and high key of the extra-curricular activities were part of the secret. The stiff requirements of the courses were balanced by programmed relaxation and change of pace. Performances of plays, dramatic readings, concerts, puppet shows, stunt nights, movies, had their educational value, but were most important for their social value. At a lower key but equally good for the informal atmosphere were the conversations at meal-times, the sessions of folk-songs, the games of volley-ball or bocce, swims in the pool, picnics on Chipman Hill or at Lake Dunmore. A large proportion of the faculty were youthful, easily approachable, and shared the interests of the students. After the friendships were made, a chat in the shade of a big tree on campus, or a hike in the country formed a part of the unforgettable memories of a summer at Middlebury. More than a school, it was a whole rich experience of contact with a foreign culture, "living the language".

The competition of other schools, serious though it was at times, failed to hurt us, because of this unique combination of "ingredients". The N.D.E.A. Institutes offered excellent instruction, and all expenses generously defrayed by the government. Many of their professors were among the best in the country. They were unable, or not permitted by their mandate, to insist upon the exclusive use of the foreign language. They rarely succeeded in creating the same warm atmosphere of enthusiastic friendliness and enjoyment. Mills College in California attempted for a time to be "The Middlebury of the West Coast". Its director corresponded with me about our procedures; some of our faculty taught there. The French School at McGill in Montreal offered good courses, in a French milieu. It was handicapped by its location in a metropolis, and by the sort of diversions alone possible there.

A prime evidence of the quality of a school is the quality of the student it attracts. Middlebury had reason to be proud of the calibre of its student body, both summer and winter. The summer schools were primarily graduate schools, for teachers and for people who had a professional need for a mastery of a foreign language. Except during the war, in 1944, when highly recommended women undergraduates were accepted to fill the schools and the percentage of graduates fell to 62%, the proportion of students holding degrees averaged above 85%. In 1966, over 93% of the students held degrees; over 20% held the Master's degree or the doctorate.

The great majority of the students were serious candidates for advanced degrees, although it has never been the policy of the schools to exclude qualified applicants who sought to upgrade their training by refresher courses, without being degree candidates. The number of degrees earned grew surprisingly. Only 23 Master's degrees were awarded by the foreign language schools in 1944. The addition of the four Graduate Schools Abroad raised the figure to 163 and one doctorate in 1961. A high point was reached in 1967 when 347 Master's degrees were awarded by the foreign language schools including the schools abroad, and three D.M.L., plus 36 by the Bread Loaf School of English, for a summer's grand total of 386. Few of the major universities in the country grant more Master of Arts degrees in the course of a year. This was no diploma mill, however; the requirements were rigorous. In 1970, sixteen students failed their final examinations, or about five percent.

Financial Policies

Excellence is expensive. A central problem in the operation of a school of high quality lies in the financial resources available—for salaries to attract the best teachers, for funds to buy books and equipment, to provide scholarships for able students. Salaries in the Middlebury Language Schools had always been extremely low, funds meager for the library and equipment, practically nonexistent for scholarships. Especially acute here was the perennial dilemma of most academic administrators, the necessity of keeping student fees low while increasing faculty salaries and improving the facilities for study. The most difficult decisions I had to make, and the least satisfactory to me, were those involved in the fixing of budgets, for I knew only too well the limits which they placed on the quality of the staff, on the initiative of each director, and on the desired progress of each school.

The major premise under which the President and Trustees of the college governed the Language Schools was that they should be self-supporting. In this, the schools were treated quite differently from the college, which has never been nor can be self-supporting on income from fees alone. A large part, at one time nearly 60%, of the college's expenditures were defrayed by income from endowment, contributions from alumni, and special gifts or funds. None of this vital income was ever used for the support of the foreign language schools. The situation of the Bread Loaf Schools is somewhat different, and must be treated separately.

During Dr. Moody's presidency, considerable indefiniteness and vacillation in the method of language school accounting, and in the persons responsible, had caused dissatisfaction among the directors. Later, President Stratton was confronted with the dislocations of the war. With the return to peace-time operation in 1946, it became urgent to establish a clear rationale of budgets, to define the authority of each school's director, the relation of summer finances to the whole college, the question of overhead costs, and the disposition of profits and deficits.

With Dr. Stratton's support, I was able to establish or confirm basic policies, which remained generally constant thereafter. First, the total operating account of the foreign language schools was divided into three parts: dormitory and physical plant, dining halls, and academic operation. All room rents paid by students or charged against faculty went into the dormitory account which defrayed the costs of maids and janitors, the upkeep of the buildings and grounds, physical services, and the pro-rated amortization or interest charges on the buildings. Summer students generally paid a higher rent rate than the winter students, though no heat was required. For a period about one-fifth as long, they paid in 1947 for an average double room $60 compared with $200 in the winter; in 1970, $125 compared with $500 in the winter. The dormitory account was expected to show a moderate profit, and it regularly did show a fairly large one, which was rationalized to cover the Bread Loaf deficit, or unrelated expenses in other areas. It has never been sufficiently recognized that much of the expense in this account was annual and would have been incurred even if the campus had been empty. The Language Schools have provided the year-round use of the college's plant which most colleges strive so desperately to achieve.

The second accounting unit was the dining halls. All board charges were credited to this account, which covered the cost of food, kitchen employees, waiters, and amortization or replacement of equipment. Board charges in the summer were slightly higher than in the winter. The dining hall account was not expected to show a profit, and when it did, I complained. It was my firm opinion that the students should receive full value for their money. Summer student tastes are different than in the winter. Older, somewhat less physically active, they expected more fresh vegetables and fruits in the summer, fewer starchy dishes and cakes. The food was generally excellent after 1955. With few exceptions, every summer was entirely satisfactory, in spite of recurring problems for Mr. Bridges.

The third accounting unit was the academic operation. All tuition fees went into this account, which was my responsibility. It was administered under three separate headings—faculty and staff salaries, including their board and room; other school operating costs; and general administrative costs. The first named was the most crucial budget in the whole operation, for it determined the money available to recruit the best directors, teachers, and other staff. The salaries of the Language Schools teachers had always been distressingly low. In the late 1940's, the average Middlebury summer stipend of a full professor from a major university was $600 plus board and room. Half of the teaching personnel received an average of less than $400. This amounted to about one tenth of their winter salary. Moreover, Middlebury did not invite them to repeat old lectures for two hours and then disappear for the rest of the day. Faculty members were expected to develop new courses, and also hold conferences, preside at the meal tables, participate in plays and excursions. In short, they were on duty sixteen hours a day. In that period, other summer schools were offering a standard rate of one seventh of the winter salary.

The Middlebury schools had to improve their salary schedules. They did so, but slowly, and it would seem, reluctantly. They raised salaries, but not as much as they wished, not as much as they should have. Even in the era of the N.D.E.A. Institutes of the early 1960's, Middlebury summer salaries remained generally below one sixth of the university winter salary scales, whereas the Institutes were paying two ninths. Yet with heart-warming loyalty, our teachers accepted the smaller remuneration and returned summer after summer, counting the opportunity to work with selected and highly motivated students in the Middlebury atmosphere as a partial compensation.

Of the total income from tuition fees, approximately 70% was allocated directly to instructional and operational salaries, including the board and room of the faculty. The remaining 30% was designated to cover all other operating expenses of the school. Some of this was specified in a detailed but flexible budget for each director: instructional equipment, books for the library, dramatics and other social activities, postage and office supplies, telephone, travel expenses, non-funded scholarships. Another portion of this 30% was devoted to general administrative costs: the salaries and expenses of the Language Schools Office, bulletins, publicity, accident insurance. It was also expected to cover the unit assessment for General Overhead. The services of the various college offices—registrar, business offices, library, campus security, infirmary and others—could not be calculated on a pro-rata basis. An arbitrary amount was agreed upon, at first $25,000, raised to $40,000 in 1965, as a recognition of this obligation. This was a better arrangement than to expect the schools to turn over to the college an undefined and ever increasing "profit". In actual fact, the services of these offices to the Language Schools probably cost more than the agreed charge; but again as in the case of the physical plant, a large part of the cost of these offices, especially the salaries, would have continued even if the campus had been empty.

In periods of rapidly increasing enrollment, the faculty-student ratio did not always keep pace, and we sometimes found ourselves with an unexpected balance of "profit". For example, in 1959, the instructional cost per student was about $110 in the larger schools. Since each student paid a tuition fee of $185, there was plenty left to cover the other costs of academic operation. Consequently, in that year, after deducting the overhead charge of $25,000, there was still a balance of $31,000, absorbed by the college. This small surplus was more than welcome, permitting us to increase faculty salaries a little the following summer, add one or two to the staff, and delay a little longer the next tuition hike. The opposite was true in times of decreasing enrollment. The fluctuations of enrollment, and of income, made budgeting very difficult. There was a wide variation between schools. In 1965 for example, the instructional cost per student varied from a low of $127 in the Spanish School, $141 in the French School, $157 in the Italian School, to a high of $231 in the Russian School. The smaller schools could contribute little or nothing to the general overhead charge. The operating margin of the larger schools had to cover it.

My firm policy was to make the director of each school completely autonomous in the selection of his faculty and the distribution of his instructional budget. It was his job to plead for a larger budget and to use well what he got. Naturally he always wanted more, in order to attract an ever better faculty and to pay well those who worked well. This was especially the case in the Russian School, where highly qualified native-born teachers were hard to find and the competition was intense. It was my task to give each director all possible support, while holding the line on fees, and securing maximum effectiveness in the operation.

As creeping inflation continued nationally, it became inevitable to raise salaries, and tuition fees. Each time the fee was increased, approximately 70% of the increase went into the instructional budget of the director. Beginning in 1949, the tuition was increased slightly, by $5 or so, nearly every year until 1954. The increases became larger in 1957; and in the late 1960's the combined fee of tuition, board, and room increased by $30-$45 each year. This resulted in a jump from $430 to $640 between 1963 and 1970. I then voiced the real fear that we were pricing ourselves out of the broad market of secondary school teachers who had always been our chief clientele.

Within a tight budget, not much was allocated to scholarships. For example, in 1964, out of a total tuition income of approximately $80,000 in the French School, only $1750 or 2% was added to the named scholarships funded by gifts from former students, faculty, and the French Government. Waiting on table provided the only other means of self-help. Comparable figures for the Spanish School were $1500 for scholarships out of tuition fees received of $62,500; but the Spanish School had no funded scholarships except the Juan Centeno Memorial. Until recently, the same situation existed in the English School. The Italian School was the most fortunate and hard-working in getting money for scholarships, from its AMISA, and from generous friends.

The great difference in the size of the schools always constituted a financial problem. The Italian, Russian, and sometimes the German Schools, handicapped by smaller income, lacked the resources and the flexibility of the larger schools. They could not offer as broad and varied a curriculum, and had to have recourse to a rotating program. They could not buy all the books and equipment they needed. Their faculty-student ratio had to be better in order to give a rich program; their unit cost was therefore higher, and this in turn reduced the margin for extras.

In view of this handicap, I developed certain general services for all the schools together, and defrayed most of the cost out of the general administrative budget. The most important of these was the language laboratory. A general budget for all laboratory equipment and operation was constituted, for all schools together. A similar policy was developed in the area of dramatics, concerts, movies and other such activities. Each school had originally defrayed its own costs, and the smaller schools were forced to be modest. The French School had always had the most ambitious program. After the Playhouse on Weybridge Street burned, and after the German School came back to the campus, the pressure on McCullough Gymnasium as the only hall with a stage became intolerable. Not only lack of space, but the cost of materials, lights, paint and other supplies, caused problems. The new Wright Memorial Theatre, completed in 1958, was greeted with joy. For the coordinated use of these two buildings, for the salaries of technicians, and the cost of materials, another general budget was constituted, to link together and subsidize especially the smaller schools. Included in this arrangement were the weekly concerts, of which each school normally gave one, and the motion pictures, at first given in town, and greatly expanded after Dana Hall became available.

A corollary of this policy lay in the discontinuance of various splinter fees. The language laboratory fee was given up in 1959, at the same time as a welcome accident insurance policy was instituted, and both were included in a $5 raise in tuition. Some schools had a social fund or activities fee, more or less voluntary. These were gradually discontinued as the general budget began to coordinate these activities.

A word should be said about the remuneration of the directors of the several schools. Although they had authority over the salaries of their faculty, they were not permitted to set their own. Any raises came by approval of the President and Trustees, upon my recommendation. Here again the financial expression of our gratitude was never adequate. At times, the director's salary was not much more than twice what he was paying his best professors for six weeks work, while he was planning, working, and worrying for an entire year. We tried to give proportionately a little more to the directors who had no dean—Drs. Cook, Neuse, Fayer and more recently Castiglione—and who therefore labored unceasingly on publicity, admission and correspondence of students, physical arrangements at Middlebury, whereas in the French and Spanish Schools, these tasks were handled by Deans Bourcier and Guarnaccia. For all those in charge of the several schools, the task was genuinely a work of love.

One additional compensation existed for the director or dean who was at the same time a member of the Middlebury winter faculty—a sabbatical leave of one semester on full pay every four years. There were six men so entitled—Drs. Cook, Fayer and Neuse, Deans Bourcier and Guarnaccia, and myself. The arrangement was begun in President Moody's time, and was justified by the fact that these men worked without respite winter and summer. The cost of their replacement in the winter faculty, not their salary, was charged to the general summer budget. The semester, usually the first, was spent as he pleased, but frequently in travel in the foreign country; sometimes in charge of Middlebury's Graduate School there, for extra compensation. The arrangement was terminated in 1970.

Physical Facilities

The unique character of the Middlebury Language Schools made very unusual demands upon the physical facilities of the college. Here was not a simple situation of one body of students moving out in June, to be replaced by a similar group moving in to study similar subjects under the same conditions. Five schools of different foreign languages required the creation of five separate, isolated campuses with facilities for the study and practice of a foreign language, and a cultural and social experience markedly different from those of the winter session. Five independent centers had to be set up, each with a separate office center, dormitories, dining halls, lounges, class rooms, reading and recreational facilities, so grouped and centralized as to provide maximum 16-hour daily contact between members of the school, but totally "segregated" from those studying any other language, and from English. Only under such conditions could the physical plant of each school be considered ideal.

The summers of the World War II years, 1940-46, were inevitably chaotic. The Spanish School went to Bread Loaf to make room for the Navy V-12 unit. Civilian women occupied Hepburn; civilian men were few in Starr. The French School was strung out across campus; the Italian and Russian Schools retreated to the fringes; the German School found meager housing in Bristol. By 1947, reorganization became possible, and it became my task to work urgently toward approximately ideal conditions. The main difficulty now was the fluctuation of enrollments in the various schools, necessitating many changes in dormitory and dining hall assignments, sometimes at the last moment. The welcome return of the German School to the campus in 1951 also required redistribution of campus space.

My gratitude cannot be sufficiently expressed to the successive generations of men and women in charge of the dormitories, buildings and grounds, and their helpers, who worked untiringly and under pressure to transform the campus into five language schools, and a totally different style of "living the language". The time available between Commencement and the opening of the schools was very short, in many years only ten days. Each year I sent to the Superintendent of Buildings and Grounds a seven-page list of changes to be made. Bedrooms had to be changed from doubles to singles or vice versa, or changed into offices or lounges; offices moved; more chairs added to classrooms; portable blackboards and folding chairs placed in salons for additional classrooms; files and cultural exhibits brought from storage; shelves set up for the bookstores; lamps, tables and chairs placed in study lounges; telephones installed or changed; laboratory material, projectors and screens moved; pianos moved and tuned; new traffic and parking signs set up; faculty club rooms arranged and equipped with hot plates and refrigerators; room keys made ready for distribution, and so on almost ad infinitum. The patience and goodwill of the people who did all this work, and met the necessary dead-lines was truly remarkable.

The creation of five separate, but cohesive and self-contained campuses presented many problems. In general, the French School used the north end of the campus, with Le Château as the center, and Forest, Pearsons, and Battell Cottage (now Adirondack). When the German School came back, it took over Pearsons; and the French School occupied the newly-built Battells. As the German School grew, it was scattered in a long line across the French campus to Painter and Starr at times, and to the smaller houses. The Spanish School was generally well ensconced on the top of the hill in Hepburn and Gifford, but occasionally had to share parts of them with invaders from other schools. The Italian School suffered a nomadic existence—from Fraternity Row to Hillcrest and back, finally to a haven in West Forest. The Russian School was at first scattered in Starr, Hillcrest, and smaller houses, until Stewart Hall was built in 1956, then happily came to rest there.

The rapid growth of the German School, variations in Spanish and Italian, and the changes in comparative enrollments of men and women caused difficulties. At that time, co-ed dormitories were not socially accepted, and the bathroom arrangements of most dorms did not permit. As a result, besides the fraternity houses, we used many smaller houses, formerly faculty homes: the Voter and McGilton houses, located where Sunderland is now; the Knapp house on Hillcrest Avenue; Atwater House and Homestead on Weybridge St., Hillside Cottage on Château Road. These were unsatisfactory as dormitories, inefficient for management, and detrimental to the unity of the school. The Italian School had been happy in its little corner on Fraternity Row; but in 1953 the argument of economy forced me to assign the Italian School to the West Forest dining room. Thus it was stretched out in a long thin line, from the DKE house, one floor of Painter, Battell Cottage (then known as Willard) to West Forest. It had no place to gather before and after meals, since West Forest was French territory. At the same time, the Russian School was housed in Hillcrest, Starr and Weybridge (Atwater) at the foot of the hill, took its meals in Gifford, and used the Student Union for its lounge. So another long thin line across campus traversed the Italian axis. German School students lived in Painter. The resultant mixture of students led to the use of English, to the detriment of all the schools. Sad experiences like this taught us a lesson, and there were few recurrences. The opening of new, modern Milliken and Hadley Halls in 1969 provided enough space to permit closing the small houses.

The schools reached the maximum capacity of the campus with 1419 students in 1961. The shortage of space for the expanding schools during the 1960's led to the bad practice of permitting students to live in town. In 1964 a total of 131 students lived off-campus. Although official policy, discussed in the Council, disapproved, the Deans too often yielded to student pleas, and to the temptation to increase enrollment. Students wished to bring their families; they were too late to get a single room; they believed they could live more cheaply. Urgent persuasion and some pressure were needed to convince them that a half-hour of English conversation in the village nullified hours spent in class and laboratory; and that they were depriving themselves of the rich contacts which the cultural and social life of the school provided. Middlebury's unique character could not survive if any considerable proportion of its students were day-students.

Board is more difficult to provide than room, and more sensitive to individual preferences. People are finicky about their food; tastes and needs vary widely. It is clearly impossible in a large dining room to please students in the way they would satisfy themselves at home. In the early years of my directorship, the dining rooms were a constant headache. The manager did not understand, or recognize, the difference between the winter undergraduates and the summer students. The menus focussed too exclusively on potatoes, macaroni, cream sauces, white bread, and cakes for dessert. Sometimes the first two weeks would be acceptable; then a slump in mid-session in both quality and quantity would destroy all the goodwill achieved. In 1954, petitions were circulated, protesting against the frequent "controversial" dishes of liver, chow mein, fried fish; insufficient quantities of the better dishes; milk thin and blue or old (in Vermont!). In 1956, Mr. Gordon Bridges was appointed, and the improvement was revolutionary. Since then, the food has been excellent, in quality and quantity. Middlebury's reputation for setting a good table has been significant in our publicity.

The availability of adequate dining halls has been a long dilemma of policy. From the point of view of economy, large dining halls are to be preferred. For a social atmosphere conducive to relaxed conversation, a small quiet room is greatly superior. Herein arose my continuing debate with the dining hall management. I had to maintain that we were not merely feeding 1500 people; we were creating a situation in which faculty and students talked, about other than classroom subjects, using a different vocabulary and context, acquiring facility and confidence in the foreign language. This was a learning situation, in some ways more important than the class from which they had just come. This was one of the aspects of the Middlebury schools which made them unique.

The irreducible minimum was a separate dining room for each school. Each school had not only its own language, but its own faculty table heads, its waiters, its announcements of daily events, its period of songs at the close of the evening meal. In 1956, the German and Russian Schools shared Willard dining hall, disastrously; so that when the large Proctor dining hall was completed in 1960, I refused to permit the Russian and Spanish Schools to use it jointly until an effective accordion-pleat partition was installed.

As the schools grew, my reports every year from 1957-65 are filled with unheeded pleas that the kitchens and dining rooms in Hepburn, Gifford and Forest not be dismantled, since the new dormitories, the Battells, Stewart, Allen, had no dining rooms. In 1964, scores of dormitory rooms were vacant while 131 students were living in town because we could not feed them. In the period from 1958 to 1964, the language schools were feeding more students than the college fed during the winter, by overcrowding the available facilities. In those years, the French School ate in Le Château, Forest East and basement; the German School crowded upper and lower Gifford; Spanish and Russian shared Proctor, rather unhappily; Italian fared better in West Forest. The continuing shortage of dining room space was crucial. Our maximum enrollment was determined not by dormitory space, but by the dining room seats.

The remedy of cafeteria service was proposed; it would solve the seating shortage; it would give faster service; it would save money. For the sake of the unique character of Middlebury, I insisted on keeping table service. For many years, under a numerical system devised by André Morize and myself, students were assigned to a certain table, presided over by a faculty member, and rotated around the table each meal, changing tables every two or three days. Each student had the occasion to sit beside every faculty member, and usually beside every other student in the dining room at least once during the session, to get acquainted and explore a possible friendship. No one rose from table until the presiding professor gave the signal; the entire 50 minutes were spent in relaxed eating and conversation. Announcements and songs, even news digests, were a part of the program.

Cafeteria service on a double schedule has now been adopted. It has done all three things claimed. But it has sacrificed two precious hours a day of a language experience which nothing else can replace. Now, everyone—faculty member and student—comes when he pleases, eats where and with whom he chooses, and leaves quickly, spending at most thirty minutes. Friendly groups eat together and chat, making no attempt to get acquainted outside the group. Faculty members, hesitating to intrude, eat together. Too many students come only to eat, pay little attention to others at the table, have no organized opportunity to make new friends, rarely speak to a professor socially. The dining rooms are no longer a learning experience. Middlebury has lost part of its uniqueness.

The physical facilities utilized by the Language Schools have expanded and improved greatly. The finest addition, the one of which the schools are most proud, is the Sunderland Language Center, completed and dedicated in September 1965. It is described in detail in Chapter 5. Named in honor of the late Edwin S. S. Sunderland, trustee and benefactor of the college, it is the headquarters of the Summer Language Schools and of the Language Division during the winter. No other institution has a facility like it.

The Center is the fruition of a rich tradition and the realization of a long dream. Definite planning had gone on for a decade. A complete coordinated unit, the Center divides functionally into three aspects. The instructional areas include the magnificent Dana Auditorium, with 270 seats, perfect acoustics and modern projection equipment. A fifty-place classroom is similarly acousticized and equipped. Both are connected to the laboratory control room for recording and projection. There are also class and seminar rooms. The second area comprises the language schools' and departmental offices, concentrated here for maximum contact and efficiency of communication. Adequate work space on three floors is provided for over forty members of the faculty and staff.

The central and most strategic area is the Freeman Laboratory. Its basic concept is the "library type" cubicle, for individual study. Three levels of 63 individual student practice rooms permit a student to work on a language at his own speed and according to his own need. The nerve center of the laboratory is a three-way recording studio, connected with Dana Auditorium, the fifty-place classroom, a small studio; and also with the teaching-transmission rooms, and each cubicle. The Middlebury Language Center is without question the finest and most efficient language center in the world.

Before the Center came into being, office arrangements had been nomadic and desultory. The Language Schools' central office was originally on the third floor of Old Chapel; then moved to Hillcrest until Sunderland was ready. The French School had its permanent office in Le Château, but the summer Director's Office had been first in Hillcrest, then in East Forest. Until 1955, the winter offices of the directors or deans of the other schools were scattered in Munroe or Old Chapel. The summer offices of the visiting directors were in the dormitories, usually a room or suite, with merely a desk and files. In 1955, the Spanish, German and Russian winter offices were located in Hillcrest, along with the general laboratory. Communication and coordination were infinitely improved when all the offices were concentrated in the new Sunderland Center.

Classrooms presented a different problem. Even with the new (1941) Munroe Hall, they were in short supply. Each school scheduled its classes nearly equally over all five hours of the morning. The result was a total of 33 rooms needed at nearly every hour. Munroe provided only 16; less desirable rooms were used in Warner Science and Chemistry, where the students had to sit at laboratory tables. The old Recitation Hall was very hot in summer under the shingled roof. The salons and lounges had to be used, especially in Le Château, Pearsons, the Forests, and Gifford. With portable blackboards, they were suitable for conversation practice and phonetics classes, and for discussion groups. We used the lounge, coat room, debate room in Wright Memorial Theatre; the Morize, Fletcher, and Sunderland rooms in the library; and were still short of the standard type of classroom for twenty students. Large lecture classes were held in Warner Hemicycle or even in McCullough Gymnasium and Mead Chapel.

We had looked forward to using the large lecture rooms in the new Science Center, completed in 1968; but they were not air-conditioned, and, since they have no windows, the summer heat was unbearable. Careful consideration was not often given to the needs of the summer schools when a new building was being planned. I was rarely consulted about summer needs or uses. It was merely assumed and expected that the language schools would use it, as is, and pay part of the amortization charges. Dormitories were built without a corresponding increase in dining room space; and without an adequate number of small private suites for director, dean, or visiting professor. We were often severely embarrassed to have to tell a distinguished foreign university professor that he had to share toilet and shower facilities with the students.

The windows on the west side of new Hadley Hall open only slightly by tilting, and ventilation is impossible as the summer afternoon sun beats in pitilessly. The huge plate glass windows that face east in the Johnson Building give splendid illumination for art work in winter, but the hot summer morning sun was so glaring that classes had to hide in the corner shadows until, after two summers, tinted plastic sheets were hung over the windows. The same situation occurred in the new east wing of the library where, without air conditioning, the sun poured in through the ceiling-to-floor windows on both floors, and the study rooms became unbearably hot. Allen Hall, on the other hand, was planned by Mrs. Kelly and myself specifically as a language dormitory; its separable sections, each with a study lounge and resident's suite, are an ideal arrangement for both winter and summer, except for the lack of a dining room.

The schools utilized intensively all the other college facilities. The library was heavily used; and the only complaint was that it was not open long enough. Gradually it was opened more and later in evenings and on Sundays. Proctor Hall, with its bookstore, snack bar, lounges and big dining hall, was likewise filled with activity until 11:00 p.m. The Infirmary, at first with a nurse in Hillside Cottage on Château Road, and after 1968 in Carr Hall with Dr. George Parton as Medical Director in charge, has rendered essential service. Serious psychiatric disturbances have affected some students under the constant strain of living in a foreign language. The Brown Pool has been popular. Many changes had to be made each summer in the telephone installations.

The McCullough Gymnasium became more and more inadequate as the only dramatics facility for all five schools, especially after the old Playhouse on Weybridge Street burned. The French School had a long tradition of presenting four plays each summer. Since it was practically impossible to arrange rehearsals, build and paint sets, and strike them afterward, for more than one play a week, the schools were forced to resort to many makeshifts. The German and Italian Schools staged two plays outdoors on the lawn, at the risk of the weather. The Spanish School often used Mead Chapel portico. McCullough was a welter of confusion. The completion of Wright Memorial Theatre in 1958 was greeted with joy. Thereafter, it was never empty: classes 8 a.m. to noon, and rehearsals and performances until midnight. But a mere exchange did not solve the problem. At my insistence, McCullough remained available, unmodified, and heavily used for all kinds of gatherings.

Certain facilities had to be installed for each school separately. Beside the general bookstore in Proctor, each school had its own "foreign bookshop" in which students could buy books not required in the courses, contemporary publications, books for children or for gifts, and where they could browse as they pleased. Each school had its own faculty clubroom, a retreat where the staff could chat over a cup of coffee or even a late breakfast after an eight o'clock class, and gather for relaxation after correcting papers in the evening. Occasionally a special party was held there to welcome a distinguished guest.

From the physical point of view, one of the most difficult problems, and never really solved, is that of noise. The summertime opens all windows in classroom and dormitory, and all the outdoor noise roars in. Prime offenders are the lawn mowers. The grass has to be cut, but we never succeeded in teaching the grounds men to cut the lawns near classroom buildings in the afternoon. The construction of new buildings, welcome when well-timed, was often very disruptive. The summer of 1959, when Proctor Hall was building, was a disaster. Steam shovels and drills operated under the windows of Hillcrest and West Forest, digging new steam and sprinkler lines in July, instead of completing them in June, as promised. The open ditches made quagmires of the campus after rains. All effective study in the Phonetics Center in Hillcrest came to a screeching halt. The Language Laboratory, with its delicate sound equipment, is the heart of the spoken language instruction, and silence is vital.

Students and staff sin too. Bare corridor floors resound at midnight to the clack of returning heels, followed by the noise of showers being taken without heed of a sleeping neighbor; or a loud "Bonne Nuit" said above the roar of a departing auto, under a sleeper's open window. Radios are never sufficiently turned down. Adults, unaccustomed to dormitory life, do not cooperate intelligently, and tolerate it badly.

Enrollments and Publicity

Enrollments in the Middlebury Language Schools varied widely during the three decades since 1943. Although their academic quality, their physical facilities, and their reputation continued to improve steadily, the numbers of students enrolled rose and fell in very irregular waves. Some of the fluctuation was due to internal causes. Outside circumstances, both favorable and adverse, presented the strongest and most unavoidable influences. The central fact is the growth from six schools in 1943 with a total enrollment of 553, to thirteen schools, including the four Graduate Schools Abroad, with a total enrollment of 1635 in 1970.

In 1943, a low point was reached because of the war. Men were called into service. Science courses replaced the humanities in school curricula. At Middlebury, space had to be found for the Navy V-12 Unit, and for the summer term of the undergraduate college. Lack of space and diminished national interest brought the enrollment down to a low ebb. I even found it necessary to say in my report to President Stratton: "I recommend very strongly that all the Language Schools be authorized to open, and that the decision be made early enough to permit effective publicity. Widespread rumors were circulated last spring that the French and German Schools would not be held, because the announcements were so long delayed."

The tide turned in 1944; all the schools increased their enrollment, the French School from 166 to 244, the German and Italian Schools also, for a total count of 716. By 1945 it was evident that a boom was on. The French School rose to 365 in 1948; the English and German Schools made strong gains. The Russian School was added in 1945 with an enrollment that rose to 78.

The reasons for this rapid rise were not hard to find. As the war ended, veterans returned with an eagerness to refine and capitalize on their newly acquired contact with a foreign language. They numbered 239 in the foreign language schools in 1949, continuing to come longer than was expected. The well-prepared undergraduate women, who had filled the men's places in 1943, continued coming after the veterans returned.

The war was a revelation for the American public, and for the Armed Forces, when they suddenly realized that French was spoken in North Africa and in France, German in Germany, and Russian in Russia; and that it was strategically invaluable for soldiers or anyone overseas to *speak* the foreign language. The Army Language Program, whose prime objective was oral mastery of the language, put an end to the long-standing debate about the "Reading Method." The public press extolled the new "Army Method" which was simply the intensive method for the oral objective which Middlebury had followed for years. Middlebury was not only vindicated but popularized by this development. Teachers came from schools and colleges all over the country to train themselves in our techniques. German and Russian were particularly in demand. French recuperated after the liberation of France, and the switch to Spanish came to an end. The five schools on campus in 1949 filled all available space in dormitory and dining hall, with an enrollment of 791. The English School of 207, the Writers' Conference of 124 and the Music School of 34 made a grand total of 1156 for the summer.

The steam ran out of the boom in 1950, and the schools began to decline. The first summer it was noticeable only in the French School, which decreased by 51; there was a slight decrease in all the others except the German School, which did not gain. There were fewer veterans, fewer undergraduate women. We wondered if our new Graduate School in France cut into the French School enrollment, but experience showed that it attracted more students.

Following the resignation of Dr. Merlino as Director of the Italian School, the enrollment there declined while Dr. Castiglione was building a new group of degree candidates. From a maximum of 59, it dropped to a low of 22 in 1951, the summer following Dr. Castiglione's year in Italy as a Fulbright Fellow. The German School returned to the campus under Dr. Neuse in 1951. We had hoped that with the solution of many old problems and the great increase in space available, the enrollment would expand The contrary took place, and from its high of 84, the figure sank to a low of 42 in 1953. A similar trend occurred at Bread Loaf where the English School declined from its high of 188 in 1950 to a low of 115; and the Writers' Conference from 117 to 83. The low point was hit in all the schools in 1953 with a total of 772 in all seven schools.

In retrospect it is clear that the chief reason for the receding wave was the national situation. The Korean War lasted from 1950 to 1953; its effects were immediate. Men were drawn into service. The national interest turned to the

Pacific. There followed an economic recession; the value of the dollar shrank under inflationary pressures; single teachers felt the burden of rapidly increasing taxes. Enroliments in summer schools, country-wide, fell off drastically. Reports circulated of decreases of 20% to 50% in the big universities. The University of Vermont abandoned its special summer School of English. Unprecedented last minute cancellations came from students who had hoped to have enough money.

Slack tide characterized 1954. The English and Russian Schools rose significantly; the others changed little. By 1955 flood tide had begun, but only spasmodically. The English School lost a little, and for several years averaged below 130. Italian stalled for another year, then climbed to 66. Spanish gained ten percent a summer; German rose spectacularly from 42 in 1953 to 231 in 1965. The incoming tide lasted thirteen years this time, until 1968, though it levelled off irregularly after 1963. In 1961, the seven Language Schools enrolled the largest number of students ever to attend Middlebury College up to that time, summer or winter. The total of 1419 exceeded the winter enrollment in 1960-61 by 118. This record was repeated in 1962; the total of 1437 exceeded the winter enrollment of 1285 by 152. With the addition of the Chinese School and the growing Writers' Conference, the year 1968 marked the crest of the wave, with 1515 students enrolled in the eight schools. This was more than double the low point in 1953.

The causes of this great expansion are many and complex. Some of them merit careful examination. First of all, it was a natural cumulative growth based on the ever-increasing number of "satisfied customers", the former students. Every student who has spent a summer at Middlebury was considered an alumnus, not merely those who earned a degree. Over half of the enrollment each summer was composed of returning students; the rest were new. By 1955, our files had the records of over 7000 former students. Our mailing lists, with addresses updated periodically, sent them bulletins each year. They were undoubtedly our best advertizing; they had been here and liked it; they had colleagues in teaching, and students. Tabulations of inquiries showed that more students came to us on the recommendation of former students than in any other way. Even the winter college admissions office reported that a high percentage, sometimes approaching half, of its inquiries came at the suggestion of summer students. The task of keeping accurate mailing lists, without benefit of computer, was expensive but most rewarding.

As the numbers and distribution of our alumni increased, the idea of an alumni organization in each school took shape. Bourcier began the "Amicale" in the French School in 1950, suggested by an earlier Association des Anciens Élèves which Morize and I had begun in 1934. Castiglione followed with the Alumni and Friends of the Italian School, later called the AMISA; Neuse formed the FIDES in 1953. All three were active in advertizing the school, collected annual dues and gifts which supported scholarships, held a "Homecoming Weekend" at Middlebury, and usually a meeting in connection with the annual language association convention. The Russian School had alumni gatherings in New York and later at Middlebury. The loyal and enthusiastic "Middlebury spirit" of these groups, especially of the Italian AMISA, is heart-warming, and their publicity value is important.

The more mechanical types of publicity were not neglected. Bulletins or leaflets or large posters were sent to several thousand high schools, as well as to over 1200 college department chairmen. Bulletins with complete information about faculty and courses are more expensive to print and distribute, but are far more effective, since our mature student clientele wants to know facts. Posters were fairly effective in stimulating inquiries, but we found few students recruited by newspaper or magazine advertizing. Over 5000 inquiries were processed annually by all the offices. Complete bulletins in the hands of strategically placed language teachers seem to be the best investment. In 1957, a questionnaire was answered by 1426 students; 861 said they came because Middlebury had been personally recommended by a friend or colleague who had been here, or by their professor.

The Graduate Schools Abroad and the attendant publicity in a generation acutely interested in foreign study, had a positive effect on our summer enrollment. At first, fears were expressed that too many students would choose one summer and the year abroad in preference to four summers here. On the contrary, the program, still unequalled in quality by several imitators, has brought far more students to Middlebury for the summer. The strong growth of the German and Italian Schools after 1959 and 1960 must be credited in part to their schools in Europe. About 200 students each year now spend a summer here in preparation for the school abroad, most of whom probably would not have come otherwise.

Several national movements, aside from the general economic recovery, were important in the growth of the schools. Most significant was the Foreign Language Program, launched in 1952 by the Modern Language Association under the brilliant leadership of William Riley Parker. Supported by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, the F.L.P. made a thorough inquiry into the role that foreign languages and culture should play in American life, academic or non-academic. It conducted a successful campaign to educate the general public on the value of foreign language study; to set standard qualifications for language teachers; to define the skills that a student should acquire, the time it should take, and the methods to be used.

For six years, intensive analyses were made of many aspects of language study. With the participation of UNESCO, Dr. Parker held conferences, later summarized in a book, *Foreign Languages and the National Interest*. Language enrollments at the secondary and college levels were tabulated, with any identifiable trends. Particular emphasis was given to the requirements for college entrance and degrees, and a drive was made to restore such requirements. Middlebury College was one of many which responded, restoring in 1954 both requirements which had been dropped in 1940. Many conferences held all over the United States published their recommendations that hearing and speaking makes the best introduction to a foreign language.

The statement of qualifications of teachers for such an objective was endorsed by all national associations, defining the minimal, good, and superior abilities in understanding, speaking, reading, and writing, language analysis, culture, and professional preparation. Institutions preparing teachers were urged to set up specific programs to give the desired proficiency. The F.L.P. then undertook the major project of constructing standardized tests to evaluate a teacher's qualifications. Jobs in business and industry, and other vocational advantages of language study were surveyed.

All this ferment brought rich results to the Middlebury Language Schools. They were involved in it in many ways, as the outstanding institution in the country for training teachers in the aural-oral qualifications and methods. They had created model training programs long before the teachers' colleges and departments in the universities saw any need for them. I was appointed a member of the Steering Committee of the Foreign Language Program at the very beginning and served in it for eight years. When the leaders of the various national language teachers associations (the A.A.T.s) were added to the Steering Committee in 1955, Werner Neuse represented the A.A.T.G. for several years. Middlebury graduate Claude Lemieux, and former students Donald Walsh and Miss Josephine Bruno represented the Russian, Spanish, and Italian associations respectively. Middlebury ideals and principles were clearly evident in the discussions and public pronouncements. In recognition of common goals and interests, Middlebury has awarded honorary degrees to all four of the leaders in the campaign: William Riley Parker, Kenneth Mildenberger, George Winchester Stone, and Donald D. Walsh.

Middlebury was able to take advantage of one particular aspect of the Foreign Language Program, the so-called FLES (Foreign Languages in the Elementary Schools) movement. Conferences were held beginning in 1953 to ask basic questions: at what age should a child begin to learn a second language; how should it be taught, with what materials, by whom, what value can it have, and how can it be integrated into a primary school curriculum? Aware that FLES and bilingual education had enormous potentialities, the M.L.A. gave the growing movement its full support.

For many summers, our schools had conducted demonstration classes made up of village children, giving practical experience in methods and techniques to our own students, and creating excellent public relations in the village. In 1954, a three-weeks seminar in the Teaching of Foreign Languages in the Elementary Schools was led by Professor Theodore Andersson, then at Yale, one of the leaders of the movement. The seminar was coordinated with a General Workshop by Mrs. Margit MacRae of the San Diego City Schools, and with two demonstration classes in French and Spanish. It was a notable success, and brought us many new students.

Professor Andersson proposed that we inaugurate a new separate unit for the training of elementary school teachers, not only in the foreign languages, but also in such courses as Child Psychology, Elementary School Education, necessarily taught in English, although the student would participate in the other activities of his school. The idea was very tempting, especially the suggestion that we might get foundation support for it. The Council of Directors finally decided against such a separate unit, feeling that the danger to our basic tenet of the exclusive use of the foreign language was too great. In order not to lose the momentum gained, however, each school except Russian thereafter frequently offered a course in FLES, and had a demonstration class at the elementary level. There were three in 1957 and four in 1959, sources of excellent publicity, and attracting a new category of student.

Another national program of great importance to Middlebury was the National Defense Education Act (NDEA). Passed largely as a result of the Korean War and Sputnik, the act included several titles intended to encourage the study of the languages and cultures of other countries "in the national interest." They created Language and Area Programs at the graduate level in the universities, Summer Language Study Programs, and Fellowships for graduate study of the neglected "strategic" languages. The summer of 1959 saw twelve Summer Institutes in operation, increased rapidly to 87 in 1962, and continued at a high level for the life of the Act. Several of them were located abroad. Federal grants covered nearly all the expenses of these Institutes, and full tuition, board and room for the students. Some five thousand teachers of the five foreign languages were thus taken out of Middlebury's market each summer. Frankly, we were very worried that it might spell disaster for Middlebury.

The impact did not become as severe as we had feared. The Act, and the whole movement which it represented, created a demand greater than the number of students it took away from Middlebury. We lost many to the Institutes, although most eventually returned to finish their degree here. There were thousands of applicants for the "free ride" in the Institutes. Many of those who were refused, the serious ones, decided to come to Middlebury and pay their own way.

One stipulation, not always adhered to, in the mandate of the Institutes, stated that the students selected should be those teachers most in need of upgrading. Strictly interpreted, this meant that the Institutes should serve the less well prepared. Middlebury on the other hand has always selected the best among its applicants, giving preference to those fully able to "keep the pledge", and to profit from our high level of instruction. The strong national interest encouraged these advanced students to continue their study at Middlebury for even greater competence. Many school systems adopted the M.L.A. Teacher Qualification Tests as a basis for appointment or promotion; and experienced teachers often came to Middlebury in order to improve their showing on the tests.

The Middlebury Foreign Language Schools never applied for an NDEA Institute. In view of the rigorous competition, the step was considered most carefully in 1961 and 1962. My negative decision was unanimously supported by the Council of Directors. I was informed by reliable Washington sources that applications for one or more Institutes would have been welcomed. Our reasons were clear. It would have been impossible for us to organize courses for the poorly prepared secondary school teacher, taught partly in English, and below the level of our graduate requirements, without deteriorating the standard Middlebury quality. We did not at that time have the physical space necessary for new, totally segregated units.

The Office of Education later required the inclusion of courses in linguistics and methodology taught in English; and demonstration classes of a scope beyond what the village of Middlebury could provide. The NDEA required administrative, physical, and accounting procedures strictly separate from any other unit. It required that the Director of an Institute be relieved of one-half of his academic work during the second semester. The last straw was the imposed faculty salary scale—two ninths of the professor's winter salary. This would have put the Institute salaries completely out of line with our own schools, and caused much confusion and hard feeling. The salaries paid by the Institutes were highly unrealistic. For example, a young woman graduated with an M.A. from our School in France. The next summer, she taught at an NDEA Institute and received a higher salary than any of our French summer faculty except the Visiting Professor.

The competition continued to grow in intensity. In 1962 there were 87 Institutes. It became increasingly clear, from testimony from faculty and students alike, that the only possible basis for Middlebury's continuing existence lay in maintaining a definite superiority over the Institutes, in teachers and students. The major dilemma was financial—providing more money for the best teachers while holding costs to students down, increasing scholarships, and at the same time balancing the budget. We succeeded in outliving the Institutes.

A final commentary is enlightening. In 1965 the Bread Loaf School of English, under its new director Dr. Paul Cubeta, applied for and was awarded an NDEA Institute of Dramatic Arts. With imagination, initiative, and a tremendous outlay of time and energy, the Institute was completely successful and provided Bread Loaf Theatre with some useful equipment. Separation from the School of English was maintained, in theory, while giving both groups all desired advantages. There was of course no language problem. Our application for renewal in 1966 was rejected; the reason given: the Institute had been too high in quality, too good.

Returning to the analysis of enrollments after the highwater mark of 1515 in the summer of 1968, we note a decline to 1458 in 1969, and to 1410 in 1970. This figure was lower than any since 1963, even with the addition of 59 in the Chinese School and 26 in the new Japanese School. The decrease was especially severe in the German and Russian Schools, in which new directors had recently been appointed.

Among several reasons for the decline, the most important was the national economic recession, with resultant unemployment and tight money. Other summer sessions were down markedly. There had been a considerable advance in our tuition rates, about 50% increase within the previous seven years, from $430 in 1963 to $640 in 1970. I sensed a danger that in paying for ever better quality, we might price ourselves out of the broad market of secondary school teachers who have always been our chief clientele. One indication was the very high rate of last-minute cancellations, sometimes over 15%, of students withdrawing for lack of expected funds, even at the sacrifice of the deposit. Their places either remained empty, or were filled with less deserving students who had been able to remain on the waiting list.

Another important reason was the trend among colleges, including Middlebury, to eliminate the language requirement, in fact, all subject matter requirements, both for admission and for the degree. The result was a decrease in language enrollments, noticeable in the colleges, serious in the secondary schools, especially in French and Spanish. Language teachers either lost their jobs, or did not feel pressed to improve their language competence. The much publicized surplus of teachers in all disciplines reduced the numbers of young people interested in preparing to teach.

Enrollments in our Schools Abroad did not suffer. The School in Germany decreased a little, the others held their own or increased, and the total of 230 in the four schools in 1970-71 was the largest in their history. The growing popularity of study abroad did hurt our summer schools. Cheap charter flights and shoddy "travel-study abroad" programs for little more than our summer fee, were a damaging competition.

BREAD LOAF, The School of English
The Writers' Conference

The Bread Loaf School of English and the Bread Loaf Writers' Conference are and always have been integral parts of Middlebury College. This fact needs to be repeated publicly, because it is sometimes not known, and is often forgotten or ignored. They were founded on the initiative and by the authority of the college. The directors are appointed or changed, and the policies of their operation are governed by vote of the President and Fellows of Middlebury College. The degrees granted from the School of English are awarded by the college, and the diplomas are signed by the President and Secretary of Middlebury College.

It is also true that they are members of the Middlebury College Language Schools. The School of English was founded in 1920, five years after the German School. The original purpose was to put to some use the legacy of the Bread Loaf Inn, by transferring to it the instruction in English then deteriorating on the Middlebury campus, and by applying to it the same magic of isolation and concentration which was succeeding so well in French and Spanish. The Writers' Conference, though not a "school" since it awards no degrees, credits, or certificates, adapts to the teaching of writing the same procedures—contact between expert and learner in the informal atmosphere of Vermont mountains. Like the schools on campus, they maximize the isolation and concentration by much extra-curricular activity—discussions, plays, music, and outdoor life. In fact, the major difference in philosophy between the foreign language schools and the Bread Loaf schools is that students in the latter are not required to sign a pledge to use *English* exclusively.

George Anderson has told with discerning judgment and in fascinating style the story of *The First Fifty Years* of the School of English. The story of the Conference remains to be written. It is not within the definition of this history to recount the development of either. It will be sufficient to explain how and to what extent the operations at Bread Loaf were indeed a part of the whole college, and the problems and policies of Bread Loaf were a part of my responsibility.

The original mandate given to me by President Stratton in November 1946 did not include the School of English nor the Conference. Only the five schools on campus were enumerated specifically in his letter. They gave me plenty to do. The Bread Loaf operation had been entirely separate in the past. Professor Harry G. Owen had been not only the academic director of the School of

Reginald Cook, Director, and Robert Frost, friend of Bread Loaf, walk together

English, but the business manager of the Inn as well, reporting directly to President Moody. After Owen left in 1942, the Business Manager of the college assumed charge of the business operation of the Inn, and this arrangement continues to the present. President Stratton often discussed Bread Loaf matters with me, after 1943, as his Vice President, but without delegating any authority. I was busy with the founding of the School in France in 1949, and then absent in France from September 1951 to February 1952. Dr. Stratton was appointed Director of the Technical Cooperation Administration in Saudi Arabia, and was on leave from the college from March 1952 to February 1953. Acting in his place, I was necessarily in charge of Bread Loaf in the summer of 1952. Upon his return, he asked me to add both the School of English and the Writers' Conference to my regular responsibilities. My report to him on the summer of 1953 included them on the same footing as the Foreign Language Schools.

Professor Reginald L. "Doc" Cook had been the Director of the School of English since 1946, and Professor Theodore Morrison of Harvard had been the Director of the Writers' Conference since 1932. Both were respected scholars, experienced and wise in academic matters. They had shown great competence in the management of their schools. It was not my place to interfere. Rather, I considered it my opportunity to encourage and support them, particularly in the problems confronting them. In 1953 there were two major problems: enrollments and finances.

The enrollments at Bread Loaf had been declining seriously. From 188 in 1950, the School of English dropped to 115 in 1953; the Conference had gone down from 117 to 83 in the same period. We have already noted that 1953 was a low point in all the Middlebury Schools, and in summer schools nationwide. The causes were the same—the Korean War, the economic recession, inflation, and the tightening of school budgets. Energetic new publicity was undertaken, in which Cook and Morrison cooperated actively. Additional money was provided in the budget for posters featuring all the schools, new four-page leaflets on individual schools, and an increase in newspaper advertizing, especially for the Conference. Most important of all, the quality of the faculty and curriculum was maintained and strengthened. The English School faculty was decreased by only one person in 1953. During the later 1950's, the list of the faculty, both of the School and the Conference, read like a roster of the finest in America. No institution could have gathered a better group of teachers.

Enrollments responded very slowly. After a jump of 24 in 1954, the School of English drifted down again into the 120 range for several years. Finally, perseverance paid off. By 1960 the figure was up to 192, passed the 200 mark in 1963, and has stayed well above it ever since. Remembering that 175 student spaces are the maximum available for comfortable operation, more than that number means crowding, and many students living away from the Bread Loaf campus.

The resurgence of enrollments in the foreign language schools was in part explained by the Foreign Language Program of the M.L.A. The ups and downs of numbers in the School of English is largely a mystery. The quality of its academic program, the dedicated efficiency of Doc Cook's direction, and the charm of its mountain campus were just as great in 1953 as in 1963. Perhaps the improved economic situation in the country and the rising scale of teachers' salaries put the comparatively expensive Bread Loaf School again within their reach. A movement among English teachers in the M.L.A. and in the National Council of Teachers of English began to awaken the profession to the sorry state of preparation of many people teaching English in secondary schools. Perhaps our tenacious insistence on quality had a cumulative effect; the very best publicity is a satisfied customer. At all events, by 1964 the Bread Loaf School of English was a renowned and prosperous institution.

Enrollments in the Writers' Conference followed a different pattern, and under quite a different set of circumstances. The numbers had fallen to a low of 83 in 1953. Theodore Morrison cooperated heartily in the new publicity efforts, resulting in a significant increase to 106 in the next two years. But he felt that he had fought the battle for over twenty years, and long enough. In resigning at the close of the 1955 session, he generously wrote me a long and very helpful memorandum, containing an analysis of the Conference, much wise advice, and some suggestions for changes, which I considered with care.

In deciding, with Dr. Stratton's approval, to appoint John Ciardi as the new Director of the Conference, and Paul Cubeta as his Assistant Director, I acted far more wisely than I knew. John Ciardi was then Associate Professor of English at Rutgers. He was a former Fellow of the Conference and had lectured there for several summers. He was becoming widely known as a poet. Paul Cubeta was Assistant Professor of English at Middlebury. Both men had brilliant futures before them, and their acceptances enabled Middlebury to profit for many years from their tremendous ability. If John Ciardi had known, a year earlier, that he was to be named Poetry Editor of the *Saturday Review*, he might not have accepted our offer. Paul Cubeta has declined attractive offers from other colleges because he came to see the possibilities of real service at Bread Loaf.

The new team brought immediate success to the Conference in 1956. Ciardi's national reputation and his many lecture tours gave it wide publicity. The enrollment soared to 156, a 47% increase; and continued to gain until it reached capacity at 200 in 1960. In the first summer, Cubeta answered 700 inquiries, processed 225 applications, and read over a hundred manuscripts to select 67 contributors. The personal enthusiasm and prompt administrative efficiency of both these men made it a joy to work with them. They readily surmounted the difficulties of planning the following summer. During 1956-57, Ciardi went to Rome to work on his translation of the *Purgatorio* under a grant from the American Academy of Arts and Letters; and Cubeta was teaching at Harvard as a Carnegie Fellow in General Education. Coordination with Cambridge was easy, and it even spanned the ocean.

John Ciardi was dynamic and urgent in his steps to improve the Conference. His selection of his staff received great care; and he gave specific attention to the physical facilities. At his urging, the cottages of Brandybrook, Gilmore, Frothingham and others were no longer rented for the summer to private families, but were eventually allocated to and filled by the Conference and the School of English. The food at the Inn was a difficult matter, since the clientele of the Conference had finicky tastes. He set up a Snack Bar in the Barn where staff and students who adapted badly to the schedule or the menu could supplement the dining room. The Snack Bar soon became a popular gathering place. He added to the medical protection of this large community in the mountains by bringing his good friend Dr. Irving Klompus as Resident Doctor.

Ciardi felt strongly that the Conference should be serving a larger proportion of younger men and women of literary promise, rather than older people who were playing at writing in their leisure. To do this, scholarships were needed. He proceeded to work on the problem in three ways. He secured gifts of fellowships and awards from friends and from publishing houses, ten in 1968. He increased the tuition fees by $11 per student, the proceeds designated for non-funded scholarships. Most important, he established in 1959 the Writers' Conference Endowment Fund, which received many generous contributions from friends, and from himself. In 1970, the Fund amounted to $63,000. The income supplied several full fellowships, awarded especially to young writers or young teachers of writing. The average age level of the Conference has been considerably reduced over the last decade. The best Contributors now are the Fellows and scholarship holders who are appointed or invited and subsidized.

Enrollments in the Conference showed a sudden decline in 1963, down to 139. The death of Robert Frost was undoubtedly an important factor, as he had been the guiding light of the Conference from the beginning, and was a chief attraction for many of the auditors. Another reason lay in the excessive competition among writers' conferences, of which there were and still are hundreds. They range under varied auspices from good courses at cheap rates in large universities to phony offers to make anyone a successful writer in a week. Most of the better conferences are shorter, and cost less than half our rates. The Middlebury Conference is the most expensive in the country.

Doc Cook had given us courteous warning that after serving as Director of the School of English for 19 years, he wished to save the last few years before his retirement from the college for his own reading and writing. His resignation was announced at the close of the session on August 9, 1964. It had been a public secret, however, and the whole session was a rich and affectionate tribute to him and his wife Nita. The capacity enrollment was 211, and a record number of 33 Master's degrees were conferred at the Commencement exercises. The ceremony became a moving farewell. George Anderson spoke on "The Passing of an Era", and tributes were read by President Armstrong and myself, expressing the college's gratitude to Doc and Nita for their magnificent service to the School of English through nineteen years.

It would not be easy to follow Doc Cook, and the personality he had given to Bread Loaf. The choice of his successor received very careful deliberation. Paul Cubeta had proven his ability in the Writers' Conference; his appointment was clearly indicated. Characteristically, he combined respect for traditions with imagination and initiative. He kept all the former staff that he could, especially George Anderson and Wylie Sypher, but death and retirement forced him to recruit a nearly new faculty.

The six summers of 1965 through 1970 were marked by many innovations, conceived with wisdom and administered with great skill. The NDEA Institute in Drama was a distinct success, of a quality and scope so far beyond the competence of the evaluating committee that it was not approved for NDEA continuance in 1966, although the planned courses were given just the same. A radical change in the curricular rule made students concentrate on fewer subjects, by reducing the student's normal load to two courses counting three credits each instead of three courses for two credits each.

An Independent Reading Program permitted selected students to read during the winter under the guidance of a designated faculty member, and to take an examination on the reading for credit toward the Master's degree. An arrangement was made with the Newton, Mass., schools for supervised practice teaching for credit. The boldest initiative was the creation of the degree of Master of Letters (M.Litt.), representing the equivalent of a year of specialized study after the M.A. The degree is now well regarded by the profession and attracts a good number of candidates. In a sense, it does for Bread Loaf something of what the D.M.L. does for the foreign language schools, in encouraging students to return after receiving the M.A., and continue their studies at a higher level.

The Fiftieth Anniversary, or more correctly the Fiftieth Session of the School of English was celebrated in the summer of 1969 with an outstanding faculty and curriculum. George Anderson's history *The First Fifty Years* was published. Two honorary degrees and 33 Master's degrees were awarded at a prestigious Commencement. The session of 1970 enrolled 224 students, only by accepting 60 to live off-campus. An Endowment Fund was begun, and is prospering. Each graduating class now makes a gift to be used at the discretion of the director. Paul Cubeta continues his brilliant direction of the school single-handed, having been unable to find and hold an Assistant Director to share the burden. His triple responsibility of Academic Vice President, teacher of Shakespeare in the winter college, and Director of the English School recalls to me my own parallel situation during two decades, and excites my sympathetic appreciation. For six years, I had the privilege and the joy of working with him in the unusual status of being the administrative superior and senior of my successor and academic superior.

Professor Edward Martin, of Middlebury's English Department, replaced Cubeta as Assistant Director of the Writers' Conference in 1965. "Sandy's" meticulous and determined attention to the thousand details of admissions, publicity, the reading of manuscripts, the search for off-campus housing, and the voluminous correspondence, counted heavily in the growth of the Conference to an all-time high of 213 in 1969. The Endowment Fund grew steadily, and new Fellowships were added. The gradual change in the character of the student body continued, with a higher proportion of younger people, graduate students, and teachers of writing. It was natural that the Conference, in its short informal session, giving no academic credits, and catering to a distinct clientele, should be prone to forget that it was an integral part of Middlebury College. By close cooperation with John Ciardi and Sandy Martin, by references in all the publicity, by addressing the Conference briefly on its opening night, and by frequent visits, I endeavored to keep that concept present in the minds of all its participants.

We have been examining the academic side of the schools at Bread Loaf, with special attention to their growth and enrollments. When I was given the responsibility for these schools in 1953, the two major problems confronting them were enrollments, and finances. The financial problem was complex and difficult.

Joseph Battell died in 1915, and left the Bread Loaf Inn, the Farm, and 31,000 acres of mountains to Middlebury College. The college tried to continue running the Inn as a summer hotel, but lost money heavily. The place was badly run down; travel declined during the war years. This was not the kind of business for a college to attempt anyway. The trustees asked themselves desperately what to do with the place, and considered selling it. Then in 1919 a brilliant idea was born—clearly suggested by the foreign language schools—to move the amorphous courses in English from the general summer session on the college campus, to the Bread Loaf Inn, and call them the Bread Loaf School of English.

The School opened in 1920 with Dr. Charles Baker Wright as Dean. The students were considered patrons of the Inn. The Inn and the Farm were operated separately from the School. At first, everyone was satisfied if the tuition fees covered the faculty salaries; and their board and room payments reduced the deficit on the Inn's operation. Gradually the School grew to the point of occupying nearly all of the Inn rooms, and in 1946 the Inn ceased to exist as a public hostelry. In the minds of the Business Manager and of many of the trustees, therefore, Bread Loaf became the School, and all the financial accounts were combined. Forgotten was the original concept of locating the School of English at Bread Loaf "as long as it can pay for itself", i.e., cover its own operating expenses. The Bread Loaf Schools' account was set up to include all the expenses of the entire plant: repairs needed on the buildings because of the severe winters, upkeep, insurance, taxes, caretakers' salaries, electric installations or repairs to the water supply—all the twelve-month costs of this mountain campus.

In my 1953 report to President Stratton, my first on the Bread Loaf Schools, I challenged this procedure. The problem was particularly acute that year because the enrollment in all the schools was at a low point, down to 115 in English and 83 in the Conference. It had been stated that an enrollment of 225 would approach a balanced budget for the year-round costs of the Bread Loaf plant, and that any deficit should be shown against the Language Schools as a whole. In 1953, the net loss on the total operation of Bread Loaf for twelve months was given as approximately $21,000, and this was included in the figures of the Summer Schools' operation, which in turn showed a net loss of approximately the same amount. It was then stated that since all the Summer Schools were losing money, they would have to cut expenses in their academic operation—faculty, equipment, dramatics. I responded that I could not accept this conclusion.

It was unfair and unreasonable, I maintained, to hold the School of English, or the Language Schools in general, responsible for the year-round operation of Bread Loaf, merely because it occupied part of the plant for six weeks. Bookkeeping convenience was not a valid reason. Other organizations—alumni, freshmen, Commencement activities—utilized part of the plant at times. I could not tell Doc Cook that he must cut his faculty or curriculum because the winter had been severe; nor tell Vincent Guilloton of the French School that he must omit required courses for the D.M.L. because Ripton's tax rate was going up; nor tell Mischa Fayer of the Russian School that he must postpone buying needed phonetics equipment because a water main had frozen in the Bread Loaf Inn. There was no possible connection between these items, except in terms of overall college policy; in other words, the same relation as between the Biology Department and the intramural sports program.

In the situation of declining enrollments, I recognized and agreed to all possible economies toward a balanced budget in the academic conduct of all the schools, consistent with maintaining the quality of our instruction, both in faculty and equipment. I wished to safeguard in every way the enviable reputation which the schools had won, and which served as a basis for the early return to larger enrollments. Any other course would have been disastrous. I argued that the financial accounting of the physical operation of Bread Loaf, the dormitories and the dining hall, should be kept separate from the academic operation, as it was for the Foreign Language Schools on the Middlebury campus. More crucial still, the inevitable deficit in the year-round maintenance of the whole plant—Inn, Farm, Mountain, Snow Bowl—should be a completely separate matter, to be decided on the basis of its overall service to the whole college.

Happily, my point of view prevailed, and led to a harmony of administration which facilitated many improvements in the Bread Loaf plant. The outworn furniture, hard nubbly mattresses, and insufficient lighting were replaced; and the rooms, though still rather Spartan, were made much more comfortable.

Porches and stairways needed frequent repainting. The Little Theatre required much attention: the stage, curtain, lighting, the public address system. Classrooms were built in the Barn. The cottages, Frothingham and Brandy Brook, were reserved for school use. Since 1960, the enrollments rose to an average of around 210 in the School, and 200 in the Conference, considerably easing the pressure on the budgets, and reducing the overall deficit.

Only once did a serious lack of communication between academic and business offices cause a real storm, the famous episode of the porches. The double porches on Birch and Cherry Cottages, and the three-decker on Maple Cottage (dubbed Mississippi-steamboats) had served for many years as shady spots for relaxation and private conferences, or for sunbathing. They were getting dangerously rickety. Complete reconstruction would have been very expensive. The business office, without consultation, decided in 1962 to tear down the porches on Birch and Cherry as unnecessary ornaments. The resultant storm shook Old Chapel with violent protests, unabated until Mr. Egbert Hadley, Chairman of the Board of Trustees, and his wife, restored the first-floor porch of Cherry at their own expense, and the college followed suit with Birch. The whole fumble was more psychologic than aesthetic, but affirms the role of tradition as well as of communication, even in this modern age.

For their part, Doc Cook, Paul Cubeta, John Ciardi and Sandy Martin all gave me admirable cooperation in the matter of budget control. It was naturally their duty to press urgently for an expense budget as liberal as possible, in order to improve their staff salaries, equipment, books, and extracurricular activities. Their requests were always carefully thought out and substantiated.

Faculty salaries paid in the School of English averaged generally much higher than to comparable personnel in the Foreign Language Schools. The cost per pupil was not much higher, however, even lower than in the Italian and Russian Schools, because it used only university teachers, and did not need the many lower-salaried drill and oral practice personnel required in foreign language work. The student-faculty ratio of about 15 to 1 at Bread Loaf compared with an 8 to 1 ratio in the Foreign Language Schools.

It was my policy to give each director full authority in all matters concerning the academic program of his school, limiting myself to comments and suggestions, except when major policy matters were concerned. Our discussions, both academic and financial, were always cordial and constructive, even when we might differ on a detail. When the final expense budget was decided upon, in terms of genuine need and the expected income from an estimated enrollment, the directors were meticulous in staying within the budgeted limit. I could always count on the final expenditure as agreed, barring some minor emergency. When deficits occurred, they were the result of an unforeseen decrease in income.

My essential responsibility for all the schools, therefore, was to establish and administer policies that would keep quality high, and hopefully the enrollments, and consequently the income up to the level of the expenditures necessary for that purpose, a delicate and reciprocal balance.

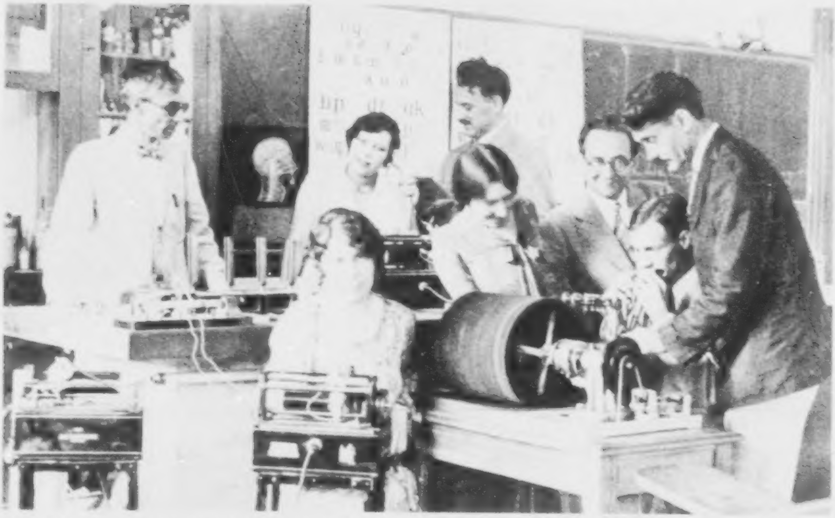
Chapter 5

THE LANGUAGE LABORATORY, 1926–

Pioneers in the intensive oral method of language teaching, the Middlebury College Language Schools were forced to pioneer in what is now called the "language laboratory." Essential to an oral mastery of a language is correct pronunciation and intonation. Babies acquire these by pure imitation of sounds repeated during months and years. Adults in a classroom situation have limited opportunities to hear and imitate the sounds of a foreign language, find it difficult to distinguish new sounds from the accustomed ones, and to overcome years of habit in order to imitate the new sounds correctly.

The Natural Method which relies on childlike imitation did not satisfy those who sought a really correct accent. The Phonetic Method was originated in Germany by Viëtor as a reform method, and was tried in some schools in the United States. Scientific instruction was given on the mechanism of the vocal organs, and an analysis of the production of speech sounds. Widely discussed between 1900 and 1915, this method was known at Middlebury and influenced the early development of the Language Schools. Even before their beginning, Wilfred Davison, brilliant young instructor in German, later the Director of the Bread Loaf School of English, included in his Beginning German course in the summer of 1913 "The essentials of phonetics; drill in pronunciation." He also gave a course in "Practical phonetics for teachers; twelve lessons on teaching German pronunciation by the phonetic method."

From its very first summer of 1915, the new German School stressed phonetics. Dr. Lilian Stroebe offered a course entitled Phonetics and the Teaching of German. Four sections were needed for the enrollment of 38. The combination of phonetics with teaching methods is significant, and the influence of Viëtor is clear. Accuracy of pronunciation was not left to mere imitation. The French School, begun in 1916, did not show the same influence at first. M. de Visme was apparently not interested in the science of phonetics. He did not allude to it in his program when he was here in 1914, nor in his courses in Pédagogie or Prononciation in the session of 1916. During his absence in 1917, a course in phonetics was given by a Mlle Saunier; and the course was continued each summer thereafter, usually by Prof. Osmond Robert of Smith, an expert in the subject. Phonetics was taught regularly in the Spanish School from its beginning in 1917, by Prof. Moreno-Lacalle, whose specialty was Spanish phonetics and pronunciation. In all three schools, however, there was no attempt to utilize any scientific equipment or accessories, beyond the occasional playing of a phonograph record. The study of phonetics meant charts of the vocal organs, descriptions of their position and function, and the comparison of sounds in isolation and combination.



The Middlebury French School had the first Language Laboratory in the country. Here is the Experimental Laboratory, created in 1927, with the historic kymograph for tracings on smoked paper. Behind the table, l.-r., M. Malecot, Miss Urquart, M. Denkinger; in front, Miss Parker, Mlle Perrot, Mr. Saverino, Mr. Ellis, M. Marcel Vigneron, Director of the Laboratory.

The first step in an epoch-making new development came when André Morize, assuming direction of the French School, appointed as Director of Instruction in Phonetics for the summer of 1926 Dr. Marcel Henri Vigneron, Associate Professor at New York University. He was a direct disciple of the pioneer phonetician Abbé Rousselot, and a pupil of Professor Poirot of the Sorbonne. He was a graduate of the Association Phonetique Internationale, and Docteur de l'Université de Paris with the thesis *Recherches sur l'R anglo-américain d'après les procédés de la phonétique expérimentale.* He proceeded at once in the summer of 1926 to organize a Laboratory of Experimental Phonetics, and gave a seminar for a small group of advanced students. Located in Warner Science Hall, the laboratory contained a recording and reproducing phonograph, a dictaphone for recording on wax cylinders, another play-back, and a collection of recordings of various literary texts. Each student in the seminar, for a fee of $15, was taught to make his own artificial palate, and was provided with a mouth piece, nasal olives, an electrical diapason, and various tubes and drums. With these, he learned how to analyze his own speech sounds—nasals, palatals, fricatives, etc. The seminar was open to qualified students in the Spanish School as well.

The following year, with a budget of $700, Vigneron imported from France a strange instrument, the kymograph, which became the showpiece and center of the laboratory. A large revolving drum, covered with heavy paper coated with carbon black from a candle, was driven by an electric motor. Sounds made by a student were transmitted through tubes to diaphragms which activated needles making amplified tracings on the drum. This primitive oscillograph enabled the student to study the character and quality of the vibrations he had made, and compare them with the corresponding oscillations made by the teacher. In this way, the analysis and differentiation of sounds and intonation became scientific and demonstrable. The kymograph is still a treasured relic in Sunderland.

The experimental laboratory was only part of the plan. Morize asked Vigneron to create a real Institute of Phonetics and Pronunciation within the French School curriculum; and Vigneron set about it energetically. Expanding the 1927 program, the 1928 bulletin announced six separate courses in the Phonetics department: the laboratory course; intonation—exercises based on the advanced study of phonetics; three levels of phonetics—elementary, intermediate and advanced, "a theoretical and practical application of the science to personal pronunciation"; and a course in reading aloud, correction of individual defects in pronunciation without reference to phonetics. The professors in these courses and several assistants spent the afternoon hours in a well-organized "clinic", consulting with individual students at all levels, listening to their speech, pointing out errors in pronunciation, giving them remedial exercises; and, on occasion, making diagnostic recordings on the recording phonograph, on two wax-cylinder dictaphones, or on the kymograph. The great majority of students did not use the laboratory instruments, however, as the primary function of the laboratory was still experimental.

This promising development was tragically arrested by the sudden death of Marcel Vigneron in May 1931. Pneumonia following an operation on his throat put an end to the dreams of this pioneering scientist and tireless teacher, much beloved by us all. Gifts of books were made to the college library, with a bookplate in his memory. The experimental course was cancelled in the summer of 1931; the clinic continued, with reduced personnel.

As a worthy successor in charge of the Phonetics group in 1932, Morize appointed Mlle Nicolette Pernot, daughter of the famous French phonetician Hubert Pernot. She was a member of the faculty of the Institut de Phonétique of the University of Paris, 1925-32, and later Lecturer at Wellesley. Our cordial cooperation with the Institut de Phonétique was expressed in the appointment of two other members of its staff: Mme Jeanne Varney, in charge of our Diction-Intonation course in 1932 and 1933; and Mme Léontine Moussu from 1934 on. The Laboratory Course in Experimental Phonetics was given by Mlle Pernot in alternate years. She had published in Paris in 1932 *Exercices de prononciation française à l'usage des étudiants anglo-saxons.* This was supplemented by a lithoprinted manual of general theory for the three-level courses in phonetics in 1932 and thereafter.

An important addition to the laboratory equipment was made in the summer of 1933 by renting a Fairchild Recording Phonograph. It proved so useful that a new one was purchased in 1934. It became the key instrument in the laboratory. A diamond point cut grooves in a soft aluminum disk, moving from the center to the rim. Primitive compared to present methods, it was greatly superior to the recording phonograph we had, and to the wax-cylinder dictaphones which were poor for consonants. It had the enormous advantage of permitting a student to make a recording, which he could take to his room to play and study on his own pick-up (which students were encouraged to bring), and then take it home at the end of the session. At all levels of the phonetics courses and in the diction-intonation course as well, extensive use was made of phonograph records. Mlle Pernot made a set of five records to accompany her book of *Exercices*. Later we also used two other series of records with texts spoken by teachers of diction in Paris.

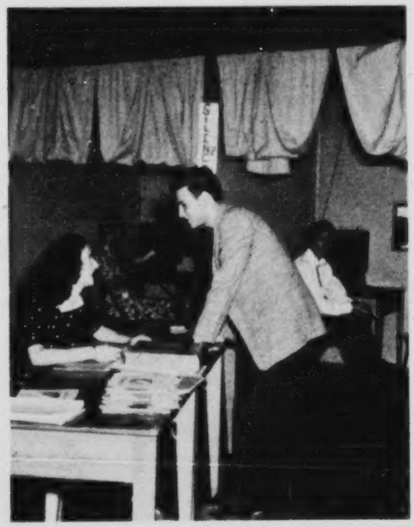
The laboratory was thus no longer merely for experimentation by a few advanced students. It had become the indispensable tool for the scientific teaching and correction of pronunciation and intonation for all students in the school. In 1934, over 300 recordings were made on the Fairchild machine, and over 1000 commercial records were sold by the French School office. Explicit directions were given for the students' procedure, as summed up by Morize in his 1934 Report to the President: "A certain paragraph of French is read, studied and repeated in class, with corrections by the professor. Then the student takes a phonograph record of this same paragraph back to his room and continues his study. After reaching a certain stage of perfection, the student stands before the Fairchild Recording Machine, speaks into the microphone and makes a metal disc record of his own rendition. Next, with the professor's comments, he studies the imperfections of his own pronunciation, holding up a mirror to himself, so to speak. Finally, at the end of the session, he takes home for further study during the winter, the series of texts studied, the phonograph records made by the professor, and the Fairchild discs made by himself at the various stages of improvement. The difference between this scientifically controlled method and the haphazard imitative process of the ordinary phonetics course is at once evident to our students."

We had therefore in 1933 a Phonetics Center in every sense of the word, a grouping of equipment and a clear method for the scientific and organized study of pronunciation and intonation, and for the correction of errors by controlled procedures. To be called a "Language Laboratory" in the present sense of the term, it lacked only the facilities for gathering a number of students at one place, and a coordinated program of instruction there.

This historic step was taken in the summer of 1936. Twelve carrells were built in two rows, back to back, in the large ground-floor room of Pearsons Hall. They were of sound-resistant material, about six feet wide by eight feet deep; the double walls were nine feet high, reaching nearly to the ceiling. They were open at the front, had no doors, but were deep enough to give good isolation. At the back of each there was a table, chair, electric phonograph with headphones, a shelf for a book and records, and a mirror on the wall facing the student. The entire installation cost less than $1000. Near the entrance of the hall was a control desk with supplies, records and texts for sale, and the school's library of recordings of texts. In a corner was the wax-cylinder dictaphone for temporary recording. In a small adjoining room, the Fairchild Recorder and playback was located, continuously making student recordings by scheduled appointment. Students signed up in half-hour shifts for a place in a carrell; and since the hall was open from morning to evening, 200 students could have a daily listening period. Three assistants were on duty, in charge of the Fairchild, the library of records, and especially to answer students' questions about any problem or any correction needed.

Students were instructed to listen to a record in their carrell, listen and repeat, with the text before them, watching the motion of their mouth and lips in the mirror. There was no continuous recording of the students' repetition. Experience has shown that for pronunciation drill, it is unnecessary, even unwise, for students to listen too much to their own voice. An occasional recording and check-up for comparison is sufficient. This was done on the dictaphone, and several times during the summer on the Fairchild. There was very little problem of noise in the hall, as the students listened on head-phones, and the carrells were sufficiently high and deep.

This was undoubtedly the *first* continuous "Language Laboratory" in this country, organized by a college for the individual study of foreign language pronunciation and intonation. Professor Elton Hocking of Purdue, member of our faculty in 1947, reports in his *The Language Laboratory in the U.S.A.* that in 1924, specialists in speech science at Ohio State provided a laboratory for the benefit of students in Spanish. "It involved a central source for many sets of head-phones, the use of spaced pauses for student responses, and the possibility of individual recording and playback (via discs) by students." Although that facility antedates the beginning of our experimental laboratory in 1926 and the general laboratory in 1936, the Ohio State arrangement was soon abandoned in favor of the "reading method." It was also a "central source" laboratory, in which all students listened to the same recording at the same time. Each Middlebury carrell, on the contrary, was a separate unit, individually controlled by the student, to hear his own text at his own speed, repeating as he wished—the essence of the "library type" laboratory which Middlebury has adopted. Prof. Hocking goes on to say that the "revival" of this laboratory concept was the



Part of the twelve-carrell Language Laboratory installed in Pearsons Hall in 1936 for individual language practice work of the French phoneticians Pierre Delattre and Frederick Eddy at the University of Oklahoma in 1944. Prof. Pierre Delattre was in charge of the Middlebury French experimental laboratory in 1941, and head of our department of Phonetics, after Mlle Pernot, from 1943 on. Prof. Frederick Eddy was a student in our French School beginning in 1940, earned the Middlebury Master's degree in 1946, and was a member of our faculty in 1948. Both were therefore entirely familiar with the Middlebury Language Laboratory before 1944; and developed at Oklahoma an idea which they had already seen in action and used at Middlebury.

The new Phonetics Center, as it was still called, was a brilliant success. Acknowledged to be the only one of its kind in the country, it became an important item in Middlebury's publicity. Teachers came from everywhere to watch its operation. Seventy percent of the students in the French School took a course in the phonetics group. Over 150 students went every day to the center to use the equipment in some way. The Fairchild made nearly 600 recordings in a summer, and the dictaphone made 350. To correct and discuss these with the students was the most important service. The demand for individual consultations grew enormously, and kept the three assistants busy full time from morning to night, giving a half-hour of clinical correction to an average of 110 students a week.

The other Middlebury Language Schools immediately followed the lead of the French School. The facilities of the Experimental Laboratory were opened to the Italian and Spanish Schools on campus; and a little later, scheduled blocks of time in the carrells were made available to them. The Spanish phonetics course used a *Manual de Pronunciación Española* by Navarro Tomás of the Spanish faculty, and a set of exercises recorded by him for the school. His records enjoyed a large sale, and were used as a basis for a Spanish "clinic."

In the German School at Bristol, Dean Werner Neuse taught the course in Practical Phonetics, begun in 1934; and the Phonetics Laboratory course, given in 1936 but afterward combined with the Phonetics course which was given almost every year. The German School bought a Fairchild Recording Phonograph, a dictaphone, two playbacks, and developed a good collection of speech records. An excellent "clinic" was organized, and "all students deficient in German pronunciation will be obliged to do special work in the phonetics laboratory under supervision until their defects are corrected." The German laboratory was thus, from the beginning, not for experimental work but a tool for students who "wish to improve their pronunciation, intonation, and speech rhythm, or desire to study some definite phonetic problem." Since the German School was small, Neuse was able to give his personal attention in the laboratory to all students who needed aid.

Little change occurred in the pattern of the laboratory's organization and service over the next decade. The machines were gradually modernized as progress was made in their technology. The Fairchild Company developed in 1938 a recorder of simpler design using discs of acetate rather than aluminum. These could be played on any pick-up with the ordinary steel needle. They were rather soft, however, wore out quickly, and were susceptible to dust and finger prints. The collections of commercial records of spoken texts were constantly enlarged.

The staff made many recordings of class exercises for student use. The playbacks in the carrells wore out under the constant use, and had to be replaced.

Technology, accelerated by the army after 1940, made new things available for the laboratory. In 1941 a new type of kymograph with accessory apparatus was purchased. Most interesting was a machine called the Sound Mirror. Developed first by the military, it was a variant of the wire recorder. A continuous copper tape ran between magnetic heads, imposing a variable electromagnetic pattern on the tape. The rendition of speech was much more faithful than from the Fairchild disc, and the Sound Mirror became very popular. The chief drawback was that the direction could not be reversed; immediate repetition was impossible. The tape had to make a complete cycle of the reel, which lasted about two minutes. Also, the reel could not be taken out of the machine. Occasionally, the tape ran off the reel, and an unimaginable tangle resulted. In the French laboratory, since a mirror in Molière's *Précieuses Ridicules* was affectedly called "the adviser of the graces", the Sound Mirror was dubbed "le conseiller des grâces *sonores.*"

The dislocations and difficulties caused by the war years, and the occupation of the campus by the V-12 unit prevented any significant progress in equipment or method between 1941 and 1946. The French laboratory remained on the ground floor of Pearsons. The Spanish School took a dictaphone and several phonographs to Bread Loaf, continuing its clinic with the Navarro records.

In 1947, with the campus facilities and language enrollments getting back to normal, time was ripe for another step. Becoming the Director of all the schools, I felt that they should all have a properly organized laboratory, as well as the French School. Using the small Hillside Cottage on Château Road, I developed a second "general" phonetics center primarily for the other schools. In the ten small rooms of Hillside, using the parlor as a reception room, I placed a new Fairchild Recorder for acetate discs, and an amplifier-playback; a new Brush Sound Mirror which recorded on ironized paper tape and would repeat when desired; two phonographs made by Fairchild which had a handy device for spotting and repeating passages in the records; and five other phonographs. Some were used with earphones; some, being in separate rooms, were used with amplifiers.

The response was excellent, and the Spanish, Italian and Russian Schools quickly adapted their instruction in phonetics and pronunciation to the potentialities of this laboratory. They added their collections of records, both commercial ones and exercises recorded by their professors for their classes. The Russian School made especially good use of the Holt series and the U.S. Army records. The Russian and Italian teachers brought their phonetics classes regularly twice a week to work with the Sound Mirror. Neuse brought his German phonetics class down from Bristol several times each summer and made many disc recordings. The playbacks in the rooms were used to the limit each afternoon.

The return in 1951 of the German School from Bristol to its birthplace in Pearsons Hall set in motion a train of events which led eventually to the merger of all three phonetics centers, and the beginning of another dream. The French laboratory, the largest, had to relinquish the basement of Pearsons to the laboratory of the German School, and was moved to Warner Science Hall where it was awkwardly installed in a large room and several smaller ones. Part of it was also kept in the Château for the use of the undergraduate course in phonetics during the winter. The third or "general" center, serving the other schools, had in the meantime moved from Hillside, seeking more spacious quarters, first to the Chemistry Building in the rooms of the winter Psychology Department, and then to Painter Hall where half of the dormitory rooms on the first floor were used.

We were also unhappy with the condition of the various instruments. Some of them had been bought in 1936 and had seen heavy service. The concept of the "language laboratory" for the general practice of pronunciation and oral work had by now become very popular. Middlebury's pioneering had attracted much attention, and people came from everywhere to examine the apparatus and discuss the method with our teachers. The experts were less impressed. City school systems and the preparatory schools, persuaded by the glowing sales pitch of manufacturers, were now investing many thousands of dollars in hundred-place laboratories, large rooms where row on row of sleek desk-cubicles were connected by selector switches with ten-channel consoles, equipped with the latest electronic devices, presided over by a technician. Middlebury, with its individualized method, and insistence upon professor-consultation, small laboratories scattered about the campus, and a total investment of less than $4000, partly outmoded, had some catching up to do.

In 1955, Hillcrest became Middlebury's general Language Laboratory and the Language Division headquarters. Intensive planning had begun a year before, anticipating the completion of Center Battell. A redistribution of dormitories had permitted the release of Hillcrest from use as a dormitory both winter and summer. Remodeled and redecorated, the long white two-story frame building was transformed into the offices of the German, Spanish, and Russian Schools and winter departments, and the laboratory for all except the French School.

The development and efficient utilization of this new laboratory were due in large measure to Professor Fernand Marty. Educated in France, he came to Middlebury College in 1947, completed his Middlebury Master's degree while teaching, and was appointed Director of the Language Laboratory in 1952. He showed great initiative and imagination in creating new approaches and procedures. In the November 1955 *News Letter,* he and I co-authored an article on the "Hillcrest Language Division Laboratory", declaring that "the most progressive educational development on the Middlebury campus this past year was the creation of the Foreign Language Laboratory in Hillcrest. Middlebury now maintains its place in the vanguard of language teaching by the most modern equipment and techniques."

"A well equipped sound laboratory has been built on the second floor with a glass-paneled sound-proofed recording studio. Its battery of instruments comprises a Fairchild Acetate Disk Recorder, two Pentron Tape Recorders, a shortwave radio set, a sound amplifier, and a turntable for copying from disks to magnetic tape. In this studio, the master recordings are made from the textbooks, and copies are made for the students; recordings are made of live broadcasts via shortwave radio from foreign countries; and permanent records may be cut on acetate disks for student use at home."

"The heart of the development and its essential purpose is represented by the thirteen small listening rooms, six on the ground floor and seven on the second floor. Each one is equipped for individual use by students, and contains some type of magnetic tape recorder or playback. The playbacks are simpler to operate, but the recorders may be used for the double purpose. A few of the rooms are provided with both a playback *and* a recorder, so that the student may simultaneously listen to questions on a tape and record his answers."

Seeing the advantages of the unified Center, the French School laboratory was integrated into it in 1956. Marty's classes, both summer and winter, were already located there. A partial segregation of students was continued by assigning the French School to the rear wing or annex of Hillcrest where fifteen more booths or carrells were set up on two floors. The main studio was shared by all the schools. Much of the French School equipment was older and in rather poor shape; new machines had to be bought as fast as possible within tight budget limits. All the phonetics-laboratory budgets of all the schools were combined. Equipment, repairs and materials were purchased out of a common fund, to which each summer student who enrolled for laboratory work contributed a fee of three dollars, until it was absorbed in a tuition increase. Winter session students in intensive beginners courses paid an extra fee of from five to ten dollars.

In 1956, the facilities of the combined Hillcrest Language Center and Laboratory included the Main Studio, three classrooms, two reception rooms, ten faculty offices, 28 individual carrells or booths for student practice, and a secretary's office. The equipment of the laboratory comprised: two Fairchild disc recording phonographs, three RCA wire recorders, ten Pentron tape recorders, nine Pentron tape playbacks, one Webcor tape recorder, 25 electric phonographs with earphones, a short-wave radio, and supplemental equipment. The Language Laboratory was administered by Professor Marty with the help of two full-time assistants in the summer and one in the winter. Much of the repair work on the equipment was done by them. The playbacks, subjected to heavy usage, had to be replaced after three years at most. The equipment budget averaged an extremely modest $3500, entirely covered by student fees. It seemed most ironic to us that representatives of large state universities with budgets ten times ours came to examine our laboratory and ask advice. One such institution had a foundation grant of $30,000 to "examine the possibility of a language laboratory" whereas we had created ours "on a shoestring" without a penny of outside help.

One of the major difficulties in teaching a spoken foreign language is to get the student to hear and recognize the differences between the sounds of English and the foreign language. In class therefore, and in the laboratory, a systematic analysis of such differences must make sure that the student hears his mistake and understands how to correct it. Mechanical repetition often only reinforces a bad habit. At Middlebury, in class and in the frequent "clinical" consultations, the typical mistakes were pin-pointed; then the student in his own individual carrell concentrated on correcting his own errors, without ever wearying the "professor" disc, or delaying the rest of the class.

The first essential for the success of this method is that the class meetings and the laboratory assignments are so completely correlated that the student knows exactly what he is to do in the laboratory, and then that the results of his self-drill are later tested and verified in his recordings. Contrary to the boring procedure of passive group listening all together on headphones and group repetition in spaced pauses, in Hillcrest a carrell was used by only one student at a time, free to listen to what he needed most, stopping the machine whenever he wished, for as long a pause as he wished, and repeating a certain word or phrase as often as necessary to get it correct. A most noteworthy step was the use of two machines in the same carrell; the student listens to a tape on one and records his responses on the other, individually active all the time.

The success of the unified Hillcrest Laboratory was exemplary, and it became the subject of enthusiasm, both winter and summer. The language laboratory movement was sweeping the country, and hundreds of teachers, superintendents of schools, and consultants visited Middlebury to see our installation. As consultant to the New York State Commission on Higher Education, I wrote a long report on the establishment of language laboratories in that state. Professor Marty gave a popular seminar in the French School, Introduction to Language Laboratory Methods. Our instruction in phonetics was given by experts who utilized to the full the Center's possibilities. Nationally known Pierre Delattre headed the French courses, still giving the Experimental course occasionally, until his regretted resignation after 1957 and early death. André Malécot, son of Gaston Malécot who had worked with Marcel Vigneron back in 1928, was placed in charge of the French phonetics.

Professor Fernand Marty resigned in 1958 to go to Wellesley. Professor James M. Watkins, M.A. Middlebury from our School in France, graduate of the École de Préparation and the Institut de Phonétique, became the Director of the Language Laboratory, and taught Laboratory Methods. In the other schools, Fritz Tiller taught the German course in phonetics; Mrs. Pierina Castiglione the Italian course; Aron Pressman, who had made records in Russian for the U.S. Armed Forces Institute, was a great help. In Spanish, following the strong tradition of Navarro Tomás, his daughter taught the phonetics, then later Xavier Fernández, Germán del Río, and others. All of them spent many hours taping exercises and correcting the students' tapes.

Great progress was being made in the fidelity and the economy of electronic recording. The Fairchild disc recorder, by now outmoded, was replaced by an Ampex tape recorder with sensitive microphone and amplifier. As the Pentron tape recorders and playbacks wore out under constant use, they were replaced by Webcor recorders. The use of standard single-manufacture apparatus greatly simplified the repair and maintenance problems.

Professor Watkins began working in 1959 on an ingenious idea that held great significance for the future: a "language work-table." We had already seen the advantage of putting two machines in one room. Watkins combined them into a single instrument, setting them flush into a table-top as a console, both controlled by a set of switch buttons at one hand. A year of experimentation went into the prototype. In an article in the *French Review*, October, 1960, Watkins described the rationale of this "library-type" laboratory and its advantages: Each student has his individual room or carrell, not a booth or stall, but a room, properly ventilated and sound-insulated against disturbing noises. Before him are two tape recorders, a "master" machine at the left used only to play the teaching tape, and the "student" recorder-playback at the right. There is a speaker in each room instead of earphones, for greater freedom and naturalness.

The student places on the "master" machine the teaching tape for the day, and on the recorder at the right his own blank tape. He starts the teaching tape and listens, stops it, and repeats aloud several times, starts and goes on, or reverses it and makes the machine repeat. He makes the pauses as long or short as he wishes; he reviews as much or little as he wishes. When he wishes to record his repetition or response, he touches two buttons, and his own recorder at the right records either his response, alone, or both the teaching tape *and* his response, which he may then review in sequence. This is not at all like the multi-booth classroom with a central console manipulated by a technician. Here, as when reading a book or practicing the violin in a studio, the student is independent and responsible personally for the progress he makes. It is simpler for the teacher to prepare taped exercises, for he does not need to leave pauses, and none of the master tape is wasted. Connected passages can be given without disturbing the informational or literary content; and the use of commercial recorded material, speeches, or drama, is facilitated.

The "library" laboratory is also cheaper. There is no need of an expensive central multi-channeled console with complicated wiring and switching to scores of booths in a large hall. In each small carrell there are only two tape machines, a microphone and a speaker. Maintenance and repair, otherwise a large item, can be done in part by unspecialized labor. If the lab is open 50 hours a week, twelve rooms will give four half-hours a week to 300 students. Unlike a single large room, the individual carrells are completely flexible for scheduling. Students sign up in advance. The system presupposes that students may be free at various times during the day. For that reason it is not as adaptable to large regional schools where students arrive and leave by bus. It works best in colleges or residential schools.

The new "work-table" was successful, and was put into production by electricians and carpenters of the college, thus saving a great deal of money. Several of the rooms in Hillcrest were subdivided, increasing the number of units, were acousticized, and all were equipped with the new console as fast as possible. Both in summer and winter, the enthusiastic use by students placed the staff and equipment under great pressure; and we received hundreds of visitors.

Our pioneering had been left behind, however. Our Language Laboratory was not, I confess, a show-place of which we could be genuinely proud, compared with the sleek, ultra-modern laboratories with which most colleges and even hundreds of secondary schools were equipping themselves at great expense. Ours had grown like Topsy, put together piece-meal, as we experimented. It was still doing the job that we had shown others how to do, but we were losing the leadership. The old Hillcrest building itself was a discredit. There was no ventilation or air-conditioning in the rooms; and on a hot sunny afternoon in July, the students could not open a window because of the outside noise. Floors or stairs creaked; the ancient wooden building was showing its age.

President Stratton and the trustees listened to our pleas with understanding.

In 1960, they agreed, and stated in the catalog, that after the completion of the new Starr Library wings, the next most urgent need of the college was a new Language Laboratory. We began at once to trace our dream on paper. James Watkins had had training in architecture, and could combine ideas of desirability with feasibility from the structural point of view. We worked out together our first hopes of a new building in three phases: the first, urgently needed, was the laboratory; the second, audio-visual auditorium and classrooms, was important for the program; the third, offices, could wait. Then in mid-August 1961, President Stratton surprised and delighted me with a request for an outline of the requirements of a Language Center and Laboratory, in full detailed specifications—rooms, sizes, sound-proofing, electrical connections, and all. We in turn surprised him by submitting on Sept. 4, 1961 a detailed description of the new Center, as we conceived it, as a basis for discussion with architects. Mr. Carroll Rikert, then Business Manager, was most helpful, visited laboratories at Vassar and the University of Massachusetts, and participated enthusiastically in the planning.

The years 1963 and 1964 were intensely and excitingly busy. The first task was to decide, in consultation with the appointed architects, Freeman, French, Freeman, Inc. of Burlington (not related to me), the optimum floor plan within the limits of the cost estimates. The three major functions of the building were weighed against each other: the amount of space necessary for each, the number and position of the carrells, of the classrooms, and of the offices. The auditorium, the master-studio, the service rooms, the pattern and control of traffic and of communications within the building, all these required long and careful study. President Armstrong, taking office in September 1963, took an active and helpful part. Frequent meetings with the architects and with Mr. Rikert who bore the brunt of many difficult decisions to be made, finally resulted in a basic plan for the building, in January 1964.

A firm of acoustical engineers, Bolt, Beranek and Newman, then entered the picture, to survey the acoustical problems and make recommendations on the design and electronic equipment of the master studio and the carrells, and on the electrical communications throughout the building. Especially important was their expertise in the design and acoustical control of the auditorium and the 50-place amphitheatre classroom; and the sound-insulation and reduction of noise-level in the carrells. Watkins was in France in charge of our Graduate School in the first semester of 1963-64, and remained until June, but frequent consultations continued.

We were tremendously encouraged by the news in January 1964 that Mr. Charles A. Dana, acting through the Dana Foundation, had made a challenge grant of $300,000 toward the cost of the Center, conditional on the college raising the balance of $500,000 needed. He had visited Middlebury in September 1963, and talked with all of us, showing special interest in the plans for the 275-seat auditorium.

Agreement was reached on the major problems; the contract for construction was let to Carroll, Verge and Whipple Inc.; the site was cleared by the removal of the McGilton and Voter Houses at the corner of College St. and Château Road; and construction began in the early summer of 1964. Intensive consultation continued on hundreds of complex details, worked out in contact with me in France, in charge of the Graduate School until January 1965. Final decisions were made about the very complicated wiring systems, the types of machines to be bought, furniture, assignments of offices, and the many compromises necessary to stay within the approved cost.

On September 29, 1965, the Edwin S. S. Sunderland Language Center and the Charles A. Dana Auditorium were officially dedicated in an impressive ceremony. Edwin S. S. Sunderland was a graduate of Middlebury, 1911, and recipient of Middlebury's honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law in 1946; a distinguished lawyer, trustee of the college for 15 years, and a very generous benefactor of the college until his death in 1964. Charles A. Dana was a lawyer, legislator, and head of a corporation manufacturing auto parts; a philanthropist interested in higher education. He had also endowed the generous Dana Scholarship Program at Middlebury, supporting some 80 Dana Scholars each year. Two aluminum plaques at the left and right of the main entrance bear the names of these two men, with apt quotations on the importance of language study. The portrait of Mr. Dana hangs in the Auditorium. To these men, the Middlebury Language Schools owe a deep and abiding debt of gratitude.

Every seat in the auditorium was filled for the dedication exercises. On the platform in academic costume were President Armstrong; Mr. Dana; Mr. Egbert Hadley, Chairman of the Board of Trustees; Pres. Henry W. Littlefield of the Dana Foundation; Professors Paul Cubeta, Werner Neuse, James Watkins; representatives of the architects and contractors, and myself. After remarks by Pres. Armstrong welcoming the guests, and in grateful appreciation to Mr. Sunderland and Mr. Dana, Mr. Freeman for the architects presented a symbolic key of the building to Mr. Hadley who gave it to Pres. Armstrong. My remarks traced the development of Middlebury's Language Center over the past forty years. The ceremony concluded with the conferring of the degree of Doctor of Laws, honoris causa, on Mr. Dana, "wise investor in human futures."

The Sunderland Language Center is without question the finest language center in this country and even in the world. No other institution has one like it. It was in 1965 and remains the most complete and efficient unit, a model of the ideal facility. It comprises three coordinated functions. First are the instructional areas. The magnificent Dana Auditorium has 275 seats with such perfect acoustics that a speaker in any part of the hall can be heard clearly without amplification. The projection booth is equipped with two synchronized 16 mm. sound movie projectors, and other projection and sound equipment. The Auditorium has become the most-used hall on campus, for lectures, film showings, concerts, and meetings by all the academic departments and student organizations. The 50-seat amphitheatre classroom is also acousticized and has a complete audio-visual projection booth. Three other classrooms were equipped with overhead projectors. The Auditorium's size was determined by the size of the largest language course, so that all sections could meet together once a week for instruction and explanations, then do the drills and quizzes individually in the laboratory. Faculty time would thus be saved, by eliminating repetition, for more small discussion groups and individual conferences. The same technique is followed in the amphitheatre classroom.

The Sunderland Language Center and Dana Auditorium, completed in 1965

The second area includes the departmental and administrative offices of the Language Schools. Eight pairs of offices on the first and second floors provide space for three faculty desks in each pair during the winter, or for director, dean and secretary during the summer. Movable partitions permit division of the outer office for greater privacy. The office of the Director of the Language Schools on the second floor is flanked by other offices. Faculty and staff occupying the Center number more than forty. The main entrance lobby is large, with ample space for a reception desk, heavy traffic, bulletin boards and sign-up cards. All persons entering the building must pass the main desk: complete control is exercised over the entrance to the carrells. The office of the Director of the Laboratory, an attractive conference room, and the usual service areas complete the administrative aspect.

The most vital part of the Center is the Laboratory. On three floors, 63 individual carrells or student practice rooms, five by seven feet, were constructed, 21 to each floor. They are effectively insulated from outside noise, and the level of internal sound is carefully controlled. Each was designed to be equipped with an efficient new-type console, developed by Watkins, comprising a microphone, two tape recorders connected by simple solenoid switches for all playback and recording purposes. The speaker is located in the ceiling for greater naturalness. There are no windows; the door has a glass panel. A door-jam switch lights the overhead light and a dot on a control panel at the reception desk. By July 1967, 42 of the carrells on the lower and middle levels were completely equipped, at an average cost of $1250 each. The entire laboratory is air-conditioned, as are the Auditorium and all other interior rooms; i.e. those without windows.

The nerve center of the Laboratory is the master recording studio and control room. It contains a battery of Ampex equipment for all types of high-fidelity recording on master tapes, which are copied for student use. The three-way studio has double-glass windows on the Auditorium, the amphitheatre classroom, and a small adjacent studio for faculty members or small groups. The equipment is adequate simultaneously to record a concert in one, a lecture in the second, and a lesson assignment in the third; or to project audio-visual material by remote control. Conduits connect the studio by audio and TV cable to the new Johnson Music and Arts Building, and to Wright Theatre, for many possibilities of recording and overflow audiences. Three transmission rooms gave faculty members two-way communication with any combination of carrells, to play a recording, comment on it, and ask questions, while the student recorded his answers in the quiet of his individual carrell. Back of the reception desk is a rapidly growing tape library. The sound reproduction room, the materials development studio, and the repair shop are in the basement. A hope, postponed for the present because of the expense, is a modernization of the Experimental Laboratory.

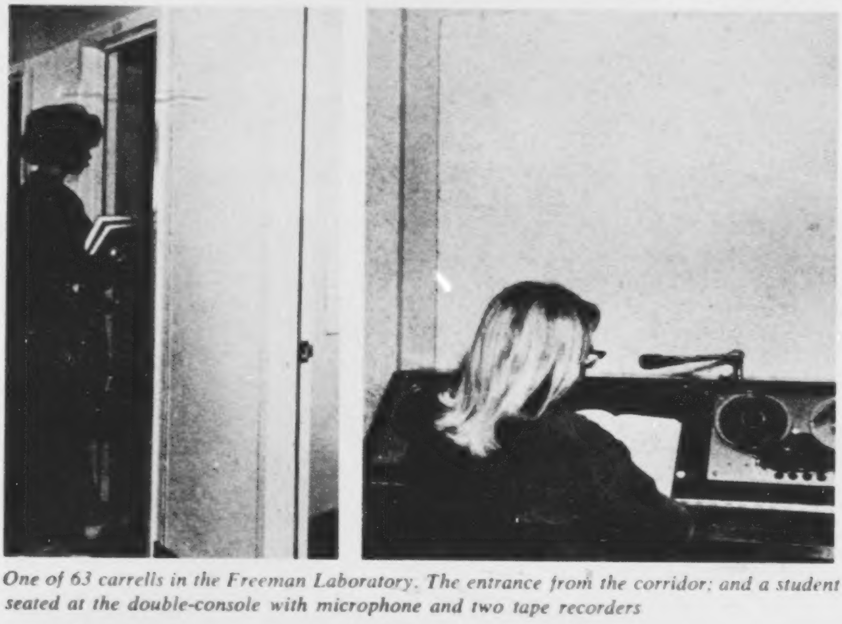
Versatility and adaptability are the outstanding characteristics of the Center. So great was its acceptance by faculty and students at all levels, summer and winter, in all the schools, that it soon became insufficient for the unexpected demands made upon it. The Music Department used it, both for carrells and classrooms, until the Johnson Memorial was built. The French Department moved its office from the Château into it, occupying space released by the Bread Loaf Schools. As enrollments and staff grew, more offices were needed. Space was needed for the year-round work of the Chinese and Japanese Schools which did not exist when the building was planned. The transmission rooms, less needed, as the teachers prefer to see their students in small groups, are being used for the duplication and storing of tapes. To meet the heavy demand, we have a tape duplicator with ten "slaves" and a cassette duplicator with nine "slaves." The "library" has at least 6000 recorded tapes and 2500 cassettes on hand for student use. Even the attractive conference room has been temporarily confiscated for administrative needs—xerox, mimeograph, and other duplicating machines constantly used for making teaching materials.

The Center's adaptability to new ideas is being shown in many unexpected ways. Progress in the electronic field has made the new cassette recorder a cheap and efficient substitute for the tape machine. Each of the 21 carrells on the upper level is now equipped with a cassette machine for use when the larger console is not needed. The invention of the video camera and tape has added a great new dimension. A television studio is now fitted out in a section of the attic once used for storage. Not only is it now possible for a student in a carrell to watch on his screen a video recording of a German television broadcast, but video tapes can now be made in the laboratory for genuine audio-visual language practice in techniques undreamed of a decade ago. My successors, André Paquette and Roger Peel, have shown great interest in the laboratory. James Dodge, Technical Adviser in charge of the laboratory since 1971, is energetically developing the most modern equipment and techniques, with the support of Kimberly Sparks, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Languages.

In one of the basement rooms another fine resource has been developed, the

Curriculum Library. Mr. and Mrs. Luke Nolfi, members of the Spanish summer faculty, began long ago to accumulate materials dealing with modern language teaching. With imagination and skill, and with the investment of large sums of their own money, they gathered for Middlebury rich collections of text-books, pedagogical books and articles, documents, reports, illustrative materials—everything that could contribute to the training of language teachers, and to their professional and cultural enrichment. With the help of André Paquette, this valuable collection is now organized in Sunderland Center, still under the zealous care of Luke and Anna Nolfi, to whom the Language Schools acknowledged their debt of gratitude by an ovation at the 1973 Commencement.

A plaque in the main lobby, between the doors leading to the laboratory carrells and control studio, reads as follows: "The Language Laboratory is named in honor of Stephen A. Freeman, Litt.D. 1966. 'He has by his presence on this campus assured the proud continuity of a great tradition in language instruction'." This honor makes me both proud and very humble, as I remember all the colleagues and friends who have done so much through half a century and in the present as well, to create and shape this Laboratory as a splendid instrument and the expression of a unique method. It is indeed for me and for many others "the fruition of a rich tradition and the realization of a long dream."



One of 63 carrells in the Freeman Laboratory. The entrance from the corridor; and a student seated at the double-console with microphone and two tape recorders

Chapter 6

THE DOCTORATE IN MODERN LANGUAGES, 1927–

The Middlebury College Language Schools have pioneered in still another area, by creating the degree of Doctor of Modern Languages. The degree of Doctor of Philosophy was universally recognized in 1926 as the standard research degree, representing competence in the techniques of research, and guaranteeing that the holder is a scholar, able to contribute to pure knowledge. The Middlebury Language Schools believed that there was also a need for an advanced degree combining both scholarly and professional training, and representing the ideal equipment of a successful teacher of foreign languages. They intended that such a degree would be a guarantee that the holder is able to impart to others a usable knowledge of a foreign language and its culture; that he is not only a scholar but a linguist with a mastery of the spoken and written language of his special field; that he is familiar by personal contact with the foreign country or area, its civilization and culture; that he possesses the pedagogical training and experience necessary to teach effectively.

The first suggestion that Middlebury should give a doctorate was made by Professor Moreno-Lacalle, Director of the Spanish School, in his report to President Moody for 1923, and was repeated in 1924. He argued that many students would return to Middlebury for more advanced work if the college offered something beyond the Master's degree; and that he could thus raise the level of the curriculum. Dr. Edward Collins favored the idea; M. de Visme did not.

In October 1924, President Moody asked the advice of his friend André Morize of Harvard, not yet Director of the French School; and on October 15, Morize responded with a thoughtful letter which made history. He pointed out that Middlebury "is not equipped to enable graduate students to pursue the kind of minute philological research" usually required by most universities. The Ph.D. dissertation was generally expected to be a piece of work in which the student is supposed to "discover new facts" and show by copious footnotes that he has been working with a massive bibliography. Middlebury would be unable to provide the material and resources indispensable to the preparation of such a dissertation.

If Middlebury gives a doctor's degree, he continued, "it should be of a special nature, and express as perfectly as possible the ideals of its French and Spanish Schools. Now this is a splendid opportunity for you. Just now there is . . . an evident contradiction between the requirements for the Ph.D. and the kind of work which our young men are supposed to do after they have received their degree. On the one hand, they are required to go through a tremendous amount of philological and linguistic work; they must go very deep into Old French, Old Spanish, Vulgar Latin, etc. They must absorb a tremendous amount of that dry, and to be frank, Germanic erudition. On the other hand, when they go out to teach, they are supposed to teach practical, modern, current, and often elementary or conversational French or Spanish. They often fail, simply because what they have learned in the preparation of their degree is not what they need when they begin to teach. . . . In most of our great universities, a young man specializing in the field of Romance Languages might receive his Ph.D. degree without being able to speak French or Spanish. And this is perhaps a beautiful chance for Middlebury. Would it be possible to create a special doctorate in the field of French and Spanish languages with such requirements that the very fact of holding such a degree would be an absolute guarantee of a thorough, practical, pedagogical and professional knowledge of these languages?"

Morize then outlined five major requirements that he considered indispensable, and which became the cardinal points of the proposed degree. In conclusion, he wrote: "I feel a great deal of enthusiasm about the idea, and a great deal of confidence. I certainly realize that this would be quite a departure from the old traditional Ph.D., . . . but it would be marvelously in harmony with the main purpose of your work at Middlebury, and very well adapted to your resources and equipment. If such a plan could be carried out, and the standard of the examination kept very high, . . . I have no doubt that within a very few years the Doctors in modern languages from Middlebury would be looked upon as . . . absolutely able to speak and teach French or Spanish. It would be a splendid guarantee."

Morize and I discussed the matter very carefully in the summer of 1926, our first summer here, and with Moreno-Lacalle. The result was a formal recommendation which we three submitted to President Moody in early August 1926. "We feel that the time is now ripe for Middlebury to take a new step forward in modern language teaching." The proposed degree was officially entitled the "Doctor of Modern Languages" (D.M.L.). The minimum requirements were stated as: residence in Middlebury equivalent to 60 credits (including the M.A.); two semesters' residence in the foreign country; a major language, including a thorough knowledge of and ability to use the spoken and written language; a thorough study of phonetics, and of modern methods of teaching foreign languages; a final oral examination conducted in the language; a minor language; a dissertation written in the major language. The details were left for further elaboration.

President Moody incorporated this recommendation into his Director's Report to the Trustees for 1926, with his endorsement, recommending "that the degree of D.M.L. be granted in accordance with the terms" stated in our letter. The trustees also considered the proposal with much care, and referred it to their Curriculum Committee. The first reaction was one of skepticism about the necessity of a new degree, finding it a bit rash that a little college like Middlebury should offer something that the big universities saw no need of. Colonel Woolsey, a trustee, discussed the idea with friends, and wrote to Moody at length, favoring the proposal. Moody talked with friends at the General Education Board in New

York, and with men like Professor Luquiens at Yale. Discussion continued during the winter. Finding considerable support, the Trustees approved the degree at their April meeting in 1927.

Following the official approval, the various requirements were elaborated and clarified, in consultation with President Moody. The definitive statement of the degree and its rules was first published in the Bulletin of the French and Spanish Schools of 1928, pages 18-20. The official text, which governed the degree for many years, is as follows:

THE DOCTORATE IN MODERN LANGUAGES

Besides the Master's Degree, the Middlebury Summer Schools of French and Spanish now offer an advanced degree: The Doctorate in Modern Languages (D.M.L.). The principal requirements are:

1. The Master's Degree in French or Spanish from some recognized university.

2. Residence at Middlebury College equivalent to five year-courses or thirty credits. This will ordinarily require four summers' residence at Middlebury, but the basis of the requirement is chiefly the fulfillment of a program, not merely a given total of points. The student will be required to complete the main lines or groups of our curriculum—Stylistics, Phonetics, Realia, Teaching Methods, Literature, and Philology.

3. Two semesters' residence in the foreign country of the major language. This time should be spent in study in approved courses to be equivalent to twelve hours a week (or twenty-four semester hours) of class exercises. The work must be done according to a plan previously approved by the Dean of the respective School, and the final results must also be approved by him. Work done in a foreign country prior to the student's enrollment as a candidate for the D.M.L., cannot be accepted.

4. A major language (French or Spanish).
    a. A thorough knowledge of and the ability to use the spoken and written language, tested by an oral and written examination.
    b. A thorough study of and training in phonetics. Candidates will be required to do at least one summer's work in the phonetics laboratory, and to write a report on their research.
    c. A scientific study of modern methods of teaching foreign languages. Note—Besides attendance in the courses of methods at Middlebury, candidates will be required to teach at least one year under supervision. Statements will be requested from superintendents of schools, heads of departments, and others as to the success of the candidate's teaching and professional ability. No student will be granted the D.M.L. who cannot be unqualifiedly recommended as an experienced and successful teacher of the language.

5. A final oral examination conducted entirely in the major language, before a board including native members of the faculty; this examination to cover all elements of the candidate's preparation—phonetics, pedagogy, literature, etc. (This training should include a certain amount of philological preparation—

Old French or Old Spanish, Phonology, Morphology—but these subjects should be studied not *in se* and *per se*, but always with the idea of the help they may afford to the knowledge and teaching of the modern languages.)

6. A minor language (preferably another Romance Language). This will be tested by an oral and written examination. The candidate's knowledge of the language should be sufficient at least to teach successfully the elementary courses in the language. In addition, a reading knowledge of German will be required, as a guarantee of the ability to use German texts or editions.

7. A dissertation written in the major language. This dissertation, which should approximate 35,000 words, is not intended to be the equivalent of the usual Ph.D. thesis. It is intended rather to prove a thorough and understanding study of some subject, literary, phonetic or pedagogical, which is worth a careful study. Without being absolutely "new," or necessarily a "contribution" to pure science, the dissertation must be a serious effort, not simply an essay. It must embody considerable original work and reflection, must show a mastery of the field, clearness of thought, and must be written in correct and easy style. The subject must be chosen and the preparation continued under the guidance of some member of the Middlebury faculty.

Stress was laid on the statement that we required, not an accumulation of points, but the fulfillment of an approved program. Great importance was attached to the final oral examination, conducted in the major language, as the proof positive that the candidate had the desired oral command, often lacking in Ph.D. candidates. The "phonetics laboratory" referred to was the experimental laboratory newly organized by Professor Vigneron. The emphasis placed on our wish to be able to recommend the candidate "unqualifiedly as an experienced and successful teacher" stems from the current dissatisfaction with the Ph.D. as teacher preparation.

Wide publicity attended the announcement of Middlebury's innovation. Reactions were generally favorable from foreign language circles and educational organizations; generally cautious or hostile from the large universities. The action caused a commotion at Harvard, because of André Morize's connection. Professor J. D. M. Ford, Chairman of the Romance Language Dept., and then President A. Lawrence Lowell wrote to Morize inquiring about his relationship to the degree, and expressing Harvard's disapproval. Ford said that "this new departure of Middlebury College is looked upon askance. We have had too much juggling with the Doctor's degree in this country. It is rather unfortunate that this Department is in any way connected . . . with the enterprise in question." Morize found it necessary to disavow any official or administrative connection with the degree. He explained that he was merely in charge of the teaching at the Middlebury French Summer School, and had no authority in the degree-granting function of Middlebury College. At President Lowell's insistence, he even had to have his name as "Directeur" removed from the letterheads of the École Française Cours d'Été. Later, however, their attitude had become somewhat mollified. Professor Ford gave a special lecture here in August 1933; and he permitted his daughter Anita to become a regular member of the French summer faculty. President Lowell accepted the honorary degree of LL.D. from Middlebury in June 1934.

A fundamental consideration in the creation and administration of Middlebury's degree of Doctor of Modern Languages is its relation to the standard degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The Middlebury Doctorate was conceived at the very first and has remained a unique degree. It is defined by the special objectives and methods which are geared to the unique characteristics of the Middlebury Summer Language Schools. It was not conceived as a rival or a threat to the Ph.D., and had no intention of replacing it or reforming it. We have never promoted its adoption by other colleges. In all our thinking, the Middlebury D.M.L. and the Ph.D. were basically different, had different objectives for a different clientele, and could exist side by side without interference. As the holder of a Ph.D. in French from Harvard, I feel strongly that each degree has its own distinct and proper definition.

Since this is true, we do not hesitate to maintain that there is a legitimate place for the specific objective of the Middlebury program. The Ph.D., as commonly programmed in many major universities, does not answer and does not attempt to answer the special needs of teachers. The situation was forcefully presented in André Morize's October 1924 letter. He was saying nothing new. William James in 1903 asked, "Will anyone pretend for a moment that the doctor's degree is a guarantee that its possessor will be successful as a teacher?" In 1949, Benjamin Fine (*New York Times,* Jan. 2) wrote, "It has been recognized that the mere possession of a Ph.D. degree is not in itself an assurance that the candidate will know how to teach on the college level." The furor caused by Professor Archibald Macallister's report to the M.L.A. on the Preparation of College Teachers of Foreign Languages is further evidence of a serious omission. The situation has changed little through fifty years. President Bok of Harvard in his Report for 1972-73 wrote that the present problems in higher education "have surely been aggravated by a system of education that conditions all Ph.D.'s to measure their aspirations almost entirely by research and research-oriented graduate instruction. . . . Graduate schools make a serious effort to prepare students for only a part of their professional lives. . . . Surely it is odd to continue placing such exclusive emphasis on research, when so many of our students will spend large parts of their careers in predominantly teaching institutions."

The omission becomes vastly more significant in regard to secondary education. The Ph.D. has never intended to prepare teachers of foreign languages and literatures in the public high schools or private secondary schools. When an ambitious and able secondary school teacher of foreign languages had completed the M.A. degree, no higher degree existed which would give him incentive and recognition for further appropriate studies. No cohesive program offered advanced work in the language, literature and culture of a foreign country. Even to this day, to my knowledge, little or nothing has been done for the secondary school teacher, except at Middlebury, in the nature of a challenging post-M.A. program, uniting intellectual enrichment with training in his specialty.

Neither the Ph.D. nor the Doctorate in Education answers his need.

The Middlebury D.M.L. was created to perform this service for the foreign language teacher. What then are the significant features by which the D.M.L. is legitimate, different, even unique? First, this degree is offered only by *Middlebury College.* The Ph.D. is a national degree, more or less standardized, offered by hundreds of institutions. It would be unwise for Middlebury to offer the Ph.D. On the other hand, I know of no other institution, even among the great universities, which provides an advanced graduate program in foreign languages like that of Middlebury, combining a broad range of coordinated studies, the mastery of a foreign language, the personal experience of a foreign civilization and culture, and an intensive plan of intellectual contacts with faculty and students.

2. This is specifically a *foreign language* degree, so defined that its terms cannot be applied to any other subject matter, as the Ph.D. is. The requirements for the D.M.L. could not become a model for a doctorate in history for example. By "language", however, we mean everything which may be intellectually or culturally connected with the country or area where the language is spoken: linguistics, phonetics, philology, stylistics; the geography, history, politics, economics; the literature; the civilization and culture—philosophy, science, art, music, customs, folklore. The D.M.L. program is therefore a broad horizontal grouping of everything that may be useful in teaching a language class; whereas the Ph.D. is a vertical exploration in depth of a limited topic. A Ph.D. candidate specializing in early 17th century French drama is likely to know little or nothing of 19th century French history or of contemporary French music, and may not even speak the language fluently.

3. The D.M.L. is by definition not primarily a research degree, but one designed to give a complete *preparation to teachers* of a foreign language. As the opening paragraph of the bulletin has always stated, it represents the ideal equipment of a successful teacher. Since there is no doubt that training in research is necessary to keep a teacher alert and up-to-date in his subject, the D.M.L. requires some research, and proof of skill with the tools of research. But the degree is a guarantee that the holder is more than a research scholar; he is a teacher, able to impart usable knowledge to others and stimulate their interest. He possesses the pedagogical training and experience necessary to teach a class effectively. He can use both the scholarly apparatus and the professional resources to improve his teaching constantly. It is a "practical" degree, related to "pure research" in somewhat the same way as a degree in electrical engineering is related to a doctorate in science, not competitive, each valid for its own objective.

4. This is a *summer school* program. It offers a unique opportunity to teachers regularly employed during the academic year. Not only is winter resident study not required; it is not permitted at Middlebury. The program is designed especially to serve secondary school and college teachers who would find it difficult or impossible to engage in full-time graduate study for several consecutive years. The year of resident study abroad is the only requirement which forces D.M.L. candidates to secure a leave of absence. By a well-planned and

disciplined use of spare time during the intervening winters, a D.M.L. candidate can complete all requirements in an elapsed time of seven years, compared to the average of four full years for the Ph.D.

5. An essential of the D.M.L. and a major difference from the Ph.D. is the requirement of a *year of study in the foreign country.* Many other institutions recognize study abroad in some way, but few if any require it for the Ph.D. The purpose is to make sure that the candidate has had a first-hand personal contact with the country, its people, and its culture in every sense of the word, as well as with its scholars and its university system. The year must be spent in full-time study or equivalent research; travel alone is not sufficient; but travel in the country is encouraged. The requirement of a year cannot be satisfied with bits and pieces of disconnected summers or semesters, since only a close contact of some consecutive duration can give the desired experience. A teacher needs such contact to make his teaching alive and personal, to merit the confidence of his classes, and to help him interpret the language as culture. Excellent research can be done in the Library of Congress; successful language teachers are not made by such a regimen. In the case of the Russian School, candidates may substitute an approved program of advanced study, travel and residence which will accomplish the desired objectives.

6. An absolute requirement of the D.M.L. is a full and effective *mastery of the spoken and written language* of the major. Courses taken at Middlebury, study in the foreign country and elsewhere all may contribute; competence is recognized however acquired. In order to verify this competence, all examinations are conducted entirely in the foreign language; the dissertation must be written in the language, in correct, fluent, idiomatic style. Most Ph.D. examinations are conducted in English, and most theses are written in English. In fact, Ph.D. juries often include professors who are embarrassed to express themselves in the foreign language. It is quite possible for good literary research to be presented and discussed in English. But since the best teaching procedures in our schools call for the greatest possible use of the foreign language in class, the D.M.L. must guarantee a mastery of the spoken and written language.

7. The widest divergence between the D.M.L. and the Ph.D. lies in the *definition of the dissertation.* The usual Ph.D. lays great stress upon the thesis (which is really not a "thesis" in the Greek sense, a proposition which must be defended). The candidate is usually expected to choose a subject never treated before, to learn more about it than anyone else, to contribute to "pure" knowledge by the use of all the apparatus of original research, and finally to write the thesis, in English, accompanied by exhaustive bibliographies and footnotes, with little expectation that it will ever be of much use in his teaching.

The D.M.L. dissertation, instead, is intended to show a thorough and understanding study of a subject which is worth the effort, and related in some way to the candidate's total interest. It must embody much original thought; it must show the ability to organize ideas clearly, a mastery of the general field, and familiarity with the tools and techniques of research. Above all, it must prove that this future teacher can impart to others the knowledge he has acquired. The length of the dissertation is of secondary importance. The subject is to be chosen, and the research and writing done, with the approval of the school Director, and under the supervision of a designated official advisor. The overall objective is not to contribute to new knowledge, but to demonstrate through skillful treatment of the material that the candidate is an alert, informed and effective teacher.

8. The Middlebury D.M.L. is a guarantee that the holder is an *experienced and successful teacher* of a foreign language. This has been a pledge from the beginning. The D.M.L. program requires a familiarity with current methods and techniques of teaching foreign languages, and with recent experimentation and publications in the field. Successful teaching experience has usually been established by confidential statements secured from officials in schools where the candidate has taught. In any case, the D.M.L. pledge is categorical: no candidate will be granted the degree unless he can be unqualifiedly recommended.

The new degree with its stated program was welcomed by Middlebury's graduate students. They saw in it the response to a real need which they had felt. Many in both the French and Spanish Schools, though not at all sure of being able to complete the program, enrolled because it gave their advanced studies a goal and a rationale. Several of the best students had already complied with part of the requirements, and began under encouragement and supervision to work on their dissertations. We were therefore happy to be able to confer the first two diplomas at the August 1931 Commencement, naming as Doctors of Modern Languages Miss Mary Terhune and Valaurez B. Spratlin, both from the Spanish School. Dr. Terhune's dissertation was on the works of Arenal; Dr. Spratlin's was on Juan Latino. We were especially pleased with Valaurez Spratlin, as he is a negro and physically handicapped. His achievement was a real stimulus to everyone. Another Spanish student, Miss Charlotte Lorenz, was granted the degree in 1932 with a dissertation on "El Teatro Madrileno."

The following six years were a period of consolidation. Interest continued strong, even though no candidate completed the requirements. *School and Society* invited me to write an article on the degree, published on March 19, 1932. The German School was reborn in Bristol in 1931; the D.M.L. was featured in its separate bulletin of 1932. The requirements corresponded to those in French and Spanish, except that work in the phonetics experimental laboratory was not required because of the distance from Middlebury. The Italian School, born in 1932, was likewise interested. In 1932 there were about forty students registered as candidates, and six of them went to France or Spain that year for their period of foreign study.

The first Doctorate in French was conferred in 1938 on Miss Sara E. Woodruff. Her dissertation dealt with Henri Monnier. Recently she presented her diploma to the college, and it now hangs in the Morize Room of the Library. The rigor of the requirements is shown, for example, by the fact that eight active candidates were enrolled in 1938 in a French seminar called Problems and Methods of Literary History, taught by Professor Louis Landré of the Université de Caen; only two of them completed the degree. In French, Miss Claire Noyes won the degree in 1941, and Miss Annette Dobbin in 1942; Richard L. Predmore in Spanish in 1941. Dr. Predmore went on to a distinguished career. He was Chief of the Graduate Academic Program Branch of the Office of Education; served as Director of our Graduate School in Spain 1956-57; and is now Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School of Duke University.

World War II made the required year of foreign study impossible, and many candidates found their energies diverted elsewhere. In the next seven years, only one student, Miss Esther Sylvia, completed the degree, in the Spanish School, in 1946. André Morize, the prime mover of the program, was understandably disappointed that during his term as Director of the French School, ending in 1946, only three students had won the degree in French; but he remained convinced that the program answered a real, professional need.

During this early period, a number of adaptations and clarifications were made. At first, the Graduate Work Committee of the winter College, Professor Harry G. Owen, Chairman, was technically in charge of all graduate work done in the summer schools. All documents concerning credits, requirements, and examinations had to be forwarded to him. He was very helpful in the organization of the doctorate, especially for the examination procedures, and the inevitable paper work. In September 1949 the Trustees formally voted that the Council of Directors and Deans of the Summer Language Schools have jurisdiction over all requirements for the degrees of M.A. and D.M.L. taken during the Summer Language Schools, over all rules governing graduate work done in them, and any exceptions or special action in regard to it.

At first it was expected that all the advanced study, equivalent to thirty credits or a year's work, would be done in residence at Middlebury in the summer. Later it became permissible to transfer ten credits for approved doctorate level work done at other institutions. Students were encouraged to spend one of their summers in the Middlebury school of their minor language. At first, a reading knowledge of German was required. As the German School began to have more candidates, preference was indicated for a Romance Language as a minor, but for students whose major was in Romance, German or Russian was recommended as a minor.

Much discussion in the Council centered on the use of the year abroad. It was first assumed that the student would follow university courses, but the rather rigid curricula offered were not adapted to the wide needs of our students. They could often spend their time in the foreign libraries more profitably for their research. In time, the requirement was interpreted to mean full time spent in either study or research, provided the plan was previously approved by Middlebury and properly supervised by someone overseas. Two consecutive semesters were preferred; substitution of summers was never allowed.

Foreign study completed prior to the student's acceptance as a candidate has rarely been approved, since Middlebury had no control over the quality of the work. The year abroad is a separate and unit requirement over and above the required residence at Middlebury; credits cannot be transferred from either to diminish either. Full-time study means that a student may not hold any job or have other obligations on his time. Natives of the country of the major who have completed an acceptable program of doctorate level work there may replace further study there by equivalent graduate study in this country, especially to prove their mastery of English. In the case of the Russian School, many different arrangements have been permitted, provided always that the substitute study, travel and residence guarantee the candidate's complete personal familiarity with the literature, civilization and culture of Russia.

Requirements for admission to candidacy were gradually clarified. Usually an approved M.A. in the major language was the starting point. If the M.A. was in a different field, the student was given time to demonstrate adequate preparation. In every case, the first summer was probationary. The student was also required to submit a long paper, his M.A. essay or other serious piece of work written in the major language, to prove his command of the language, his ability to do research, and to organize ideas.

The mechanism of the final general examinations was made more explicit. In addition to the separate examinations in his courses, each candidate was required to pass a three-hour written and a two-hour oral, on all elements of his major field, conducted in that language; a two-hour written and a 30-minute oral on the minor language, conducted in that language; an hour written exercise in translation of the third language; and an hour oral on the dissertation. The juries were composed of professors from both the major and minor fields. The candidate was encouraged to pass off his examinations in the second and third languages before coming up for his major examinations, and to pass all of them before completing his thesis; but the whole series was limited to a three-year interval.

By 1949, our cautious elaboration of the degree, and the increasing linguistic competence of students in all the schools began at length to yield successful candidates in larger numbers. From then on, in almost every summer, two or three students have completed the rigorous requirements.

The first award in Italian was to Frederick Jackson in 1951, with two more in 1953, Joseph Figurito and Philomena Golini; the first in Russian was to Joseph Doherty in 1954; the first in German was to Edward Diller in 1961. In 1969, the output rose to five, and up to eight in 1973. Altogether, through the summer of 1973, 68 teachers have won the title of Doctor of Modern Languages; 28 in French, 6 in German, 12 in Italian, 2 in Russian, and 20 in Spanish. The great majority of them are teaching in colleges or universities; several were secondary school teachers for whom the degree opened a college position; a few have remained in secondary schools by preference. Large numbers of candidates is not one of our concerns; the degree is judged by its quality, and not by quantity.

As the number of candidates increased and the programs became more varied, modifications in the requirements and procedures were discussed by the Council. A new general brochure on the D.M.L. was published in 1964, and further revisions were made in a 1970 edition. There was a tendency on the part of some directors to make the requirements more difficult, in the name of higher quality. They thought, mistakenly, to strengthen the D.M.L. by making it more demanding, more complex, longer to acquire, than the Ph.D. The D.M.L. is justified rather by being different, serving a different clientele with a different objective.

Competence in the major began to be interpreted as more and deeper knowledge in more and more branches. The progress of phonetic science and the new developments in linguistics opened new realms which threatened to create a disproportionate emphasis. The students were bewildered by the range and quantity of information to be covered. The examiners also were caught in a dilemma between expecting only a superficial contact with everything, and failing a candidate when the probing went too deep.

In 1963, Director Jean Boorsch proposed that each school should set up a special "program", in imitation of the French universities' program of special topics. It would consist of certain authors, works or questions which the candidate would be expected to know in depth, special reading areas chosen by the students as guidelines for their preparation for the examinations, both for the topics themselves, and to give samples of scholarly and critical methodology. This plan, at first optional, was adopted in 1969 for all the schools, in order to standardize the examinations. Bibliographical recommendations were made by some schools. It is too soon to be sure that such a special "program" is the proper solution to the danger of superficiality versus the opposite danger of over-specialization—the flaw of the Ph.D. which the D.M.L. was designed to avoid. The basic aim of the D.M.L. is to establish a sensitive balance between the ability to participate in scholarly research for its intellectual stimulus, and the ability to command a broad spectrum of the foreign thought and culture for its effective role in the classroom.

A similar problem is presented by the requirement of the second or minor language. Instituted partly because in 1927 the Ph.D. required several languages, and partly because teachers were often expected to teach two languages, the requirement has been continued chiefly because a linguist can profit, both linguistically and pedagogically, by comparing different languages. Originally, the candidate was required to be able to teach successfully an elementary course, later an intermediate course, using the language in class. Gradually, the trend toward increasing difficulty for its own sake made some of the examinations in the minor an approximation of those given an M.A. candidate in that language. At present, the plan of the "special program" or "reading areas" is being tried in the minor field also, on a lower scale. The primary objective of the minor requirement is still a reasonable mastery of the language.

Other modifications have been made. The requirement of a reading knowledge of a third language was dropped, as unnecessary. The procedure for accepting candidates has been further clarified, and the acceptances for all the schools are coordinated through the office of the Director of the Language Schools. Tighter rules for the review and termination of a candidacy have been adopted, enabling the schools to discontinue a candidate whose performance is unsatisfactory, after adequate warning, even before the ten-year limitation rule becomes effective.

A major problem, not yet entirely solved, is how to provide *continuity* of program, guidance, and criticism for the candidate, especially for his dissertation, during the six or seven years of his program. Our summer faculty is transient; the directors of three of the five schools now offering the degree are absent during the winter. A resident dean is indispensable, having the authority and the competence to correspond with the many candidates, counseling them, explaining the requirements, and insisting upon compliance. For the dissertation, an official Advisor is now appointed early in each candidacy, agreeing to guide and supervise the project through to its final acceptance, in return for a definite fee from the school.

The entire D.M.L. program was examined again with great thoroughness in 1971-72. André Paquette, my successor as Director of the Language Schools, felt that he needed a complete evaluation of the philosophy, the status, and the future direction of the degree. In the summer of 1971, acceptance of new candidates was suspended. Questionnaires were sent to all holders of the D.M.L., to all current candidates, and to a large group of chairmen of college and university foreign language departments. The directors and former directors of the schools were invited to submit position papers dealing with the value of the degree, its cost, and specific proposals for either restructuring or phasing out the degree. Outside consultants were brought in. A general meeting of the Council was held in February 1972. As a result, and upon the definite recommendation of the Council, the President and Trustees voted on April 10, 1972 to continue offering the D.M.L. degree, with certain minor modifications. Now, each summer, new applicants are accepted, having successfully completed the probationary summer, while others are withdrawn. In the fall of 1974, the total number of approved candidates stood at 71: 35 in French, five in German, nine in Italian, two in Russian, and 20 in Spanish.

An advanced degree as unique, as functional, and as meaningful as the Middlebury College Doctorate in Modern Languages must be continually under re-examination to keep it current and relevant to the needs of the profession. The enriching service it has rendered to the students who have won it, and the stimulus it has given to the hundreds who have even attempted it, have confirmed its place in the education of foreign language teachers.

DOCTOR OF MODERN LANGUAGES
DEGREES AWARDED

1931

Spratlin, Valaurez Burwell (Spanish)
Terhune, Mary (Spanish)

1932

Lorenz, Charlotte Marie (Spanish)

1938

Woodruff, Sara Elizabeth (French)

1941

Noyes, Claire Jackson (French)
Predmore, Richard Lionel (Spanish)

1942

Dobbin, M. Annette (French)

1946

Sylvia, Esther Bertha (Spanish)

1949

de Madariaga, Pilar (Spanish)
Griffiths, Janet (Spanish)

1950

Morange, Marion (French)
Zeigler, Wilbur Clifton (Spanish)

1951

Felt, William Norcross (French)
Jackson, Frederick Harold (Italian)

1953

FIGURITO, Joseph (Italian)
GOLINI, Philomena Claudia (Italian)
TIRADO, Moises (Spanish)

1954

DOHERTY, Joseph Charles (Russian)
GARDINER, Jean Katherine (Spanish) (Posthumously)
HOOKER, Alexander Campbell, Jr. (Spanish)

1955

HAMLIN, Franklin Grant (French)
RUST, John Badcke (Spanish)
VINCI, Joseph (Spanish)

1956

RAYMOND, Agnes Gross (French)
CULLEN, Arthur James (Spanish)

1957

FABRIZI, Benedetto (French)
SABATINO, Marcello Arthur (Italian)

1959

DOHERTY, Thomas William (French)
HOCKRIDGE, Marion Lucille (French)

1960

CAPASSO, Henry Francis (Italian)
PARKER, Malcolm Skeels (French)
TILLONA, Zina Joan (Italian)

1961

DILLER, Edward (German)

1962

LAGGINI, Joseph Enrico (Italian)

1963

DASH, Anne Chamberlain (Spanish)
PETRIZZI, Daniel Joseph (French)
WATSON, Thelma Beatrice (German)

1964

BLIMBERG, Alfred Alexander (German)

1967

DEMERS, Maria (French)
FINCO, Aldo (Italian)
GILL, Sister Mary Rosenda (French)

1968

WELLMAN, Warren Leighton (French)

1969

BALL, Remington Squier (French)
KEGLER, Lucia S. (Spanish)
LASSALETTA, Manuel Claudio (Spanish)
PARLATO, Louis Joseph (French)
KRAEMER, Sister M. Immaculata (French)

1970

MILLER, Anna Maria (French)
MILLER, John Charles (Spanish)
PHILLEO, Gerald Artemus (French)
YAVENER, Symond (French)

1971

HENNIN, Francoise (French)
HOSTETTLER, Agnes Freudenberg (German)
KASHUBA, Sister Irma Mercedes (French)
LAMB, Nancy (French)
MARKEY, William Lawrence (French)

1972

CINCOTTA, Vincent J. (Italian)
PEREZ, Marta (Spanish)
ROVETTO, Matteo (Italian)
TRIVELLI, Remo J. (Italian)

1973

LEHOVICH, Olga (French)
MOLLENHAUER, Hans-Joachim (German)
MOWRY, Robert G. (Spanish)
ROSS, Col. James Robert (Russian)
SERRA, Anthony D. (Italian)
SHAUB, Margaret Powell (French)
TESCHAUER, Guenther (German)
WELSH, Klara Schmude (French)

Chapter 7

THE GRADUATE SCHOOLS ABROAD

The Graduate School of French in France, 1949 –

The Middlebury College Language Schools had to go abroad. For many years, they have urged their students to spend a period of residence and study in the foreign country itself, as an indispensable part of any plan to acquire a mastery of a foreign language, and a personal knowledge of a foreign civilization and culture. The Middlebury Schools endeavor to bring the foreign country to Middlebury, but they can never really replace a sojourn there. At the close of World War II, travel and study abroad were resumed, and American students by the thousands began crossing the ocean. Veterans were permitted to use their credits under the G.I. Bill to study at French universities. The Fulbright Act made over a million dollars a year available for American graduate students to study in France.

Undergraduate programs for a Junior Year Abroad were begun again. The best known was the Sweet Briar program, which revived the plan started by the University of Delaware in 1923. Smith College and a few others also initiated junior-year programs. The University of Maryland had set up Foreign Study Centers in Paris and Zurich, where graduate students, usually specializing in history or political science, could earn the degree of Master of Foreign Study by taking examinations and presenting a thesis at the University of Maryland. In 1948, these were the only supervised programs granting credit to American students for study abroad.

Organized guidance was desperately needed. The young American student, arriving at a European university for a year of graduate study, is bewildered by the great dissimilarity of European and American universities. Both in psychological approach and in organization the differences are most confusing. Courses of instruction are offered, not as separate units, each with its own final examination, but usually as parts of a total program preparing the student for an examination, often competitive, at the end of a year or perhaps two or three. No attendance records are kept. Little guidance is given to the pupil for his study outside of class. The program required for one of the state examinations does not ordinarily correspond to an American student's needs or interests. At the end of a year, whatever official recognition of his study he may have been able to secure is not usually recognized by American universities or city school boards. Having spent a year of graduate study abroad, he naturally wishes to receive some official document which will be accepted as the equivalent of the Master's degree. American veterans at French universities were sending back reports of frustration and a disheartening waste of time and money, since the Veterans Administration had no agent in Paris academically qualified to direct their studies. The prospect of a similar situation confronting Fulbright grantees was frightening.

In the summer of 1948, my second as Director of the Language Schools, I worked out the guide lines of a plan. It harked back to conversations I had had with André Morize before 1940. It was aided by my experience in France with the U.S. Army University at Biarritz in 1945-46. It profited by information and advice from Vincent Guilloton, then Director of the French School. It seemed to me that the Middlebury French School was specially fitted by its prestige and 33 years of experience to undertake a solution to the problem, at least in so far as it concerned the preparation of American teachers of French.

It was a unique plan, in keeping with the Middlebury character. No other institution had anything like it. Briefly stated, the proposal was to select a limited group of graduate students planning to teach French, to prepare them by a preliminary summer of study at the French School in Middlebury, and to send them to Paris in early October. They would spend the academic year from October to June in a coordinated and approved program of advanced instruction on French linguistics, phonetics, literature, history, institutions and culture. These courses would be followed in various institutes or schools of the University of Paris. The students would work under the close personal supervision and guidance of a resident Director of Studies representing Middlebury College. At the end of the year, final examinations would be administered under his direction by the French professors. The successful candidates would receive the Middlebury College Master of Arts degree, in addition to any French certificats or diplômes they might have been able to earn.

The plan was clearly an endeavor to secure for the students the best of both systems. They would be subjected to the discipline and stimulus of a different intellectual climate. They would be expected to adapt themselves to and profit from the peculiarly French methods and approaches. In the formal lectures, travaux pratiques and explications de textes, they would be treated on the same basis as the French students, candidates for the licence. The final examinations would be prepared and graded by the French professors, and follow the French tradition. At the same time, they would be subject to all the regular requirements of Middlebury College for its Master's degree in French. They would be guided by the Director of Studies familiar with both systems, and they could rely on his wisdom and support in any problems which might arise.

After preliminary discussions with President Stratton, I submitted a formal proposal on October 19, 1948. The Board of Trustees approved the plan in principle at its October meeting and authorized Dr. Stratton to make application to the Carnegie Corporation and others for funds to cover the costs of the initial organization. On November 19, President Oliver C. Carmichael notified us that the Carnegie Corporation had made a grant of $6000 to Middlebury College to establish a Graduate School of French in France.

The next weeks were excitingly busy. In addition to the usual ongoing preparations for the summer of 1949, I made wide contacts at home and abroad for the new school. Of first importance were visits to French Ambassador Henri Bonnet in Washington and M. René de Messières, French Cultural Attaché, representative of the French universities, in New York. Both were most helpful, giving me many suggestions, and opening doors for me in Paris. Interviews with the staff of the Institute of International Education in New York, President Lawrence Duggan, and David Wodlinger, in charge of the Fulbright program, began a long period of valuable cooperation. André Morize, still teaching at Harvard, showed keen interest in the developments.

To translate an untried scheme into a workable program, the approval and cooperation of the French government and university authorities had to be secured. I went to Paris in January 1949 with high hopes, fortified with many letters of introduction, but still with a shadow of uneasiness. I was asking the University of Paris to do something it had never done before, to allow foreigners to come as a group and follow courses of instruction in several of its faculties and institutes without enrolling as candidates for any regular certificate or degree. I need not have worried, for everywhere I received the most flattering welcome, and complete cooperation. Louis Joxe, who had been a member of the French School faculty in 1938, then Directeur Général des Relations Culturelles, and his colleagues Jean Marx, Conseiller Honoraire, and Jean Baillou, Directeur du Service de l'Enseignement in that office, facilitated the needed contacts.

Appointments arranged by Marcel Abraham, Inspecteur Général de l'Éducation Nationale, enabled me to explain the plan to M. Donzelot, Directeur de l'Enseignement Supérieur au Ministère; to M. Sarrailh, Recteur de l'Université de Paris; M. Cholley, Doyen de la Faculté des Lettres; and to receive their assurances of approval and full support. Then began the work of implementing the plan in its practical details, with Pierre Fouché, head of the École de Préparation des Professeurs de Français à l'Étranger, and of the Institut de Phonétique; with Jacques Chapsal, head of the Institut d'Études Politiques; with Marcel Aubert, head of the École du Louvre; with Mme Francke, head of the French section of the Institut Britannique; and with many others.

By dint of careful explanation and some persuasion, Middlebury was granted permission to enroll its students in the separate courses or units of instruction for which we considered them fitted, and which we wished to require for our own M.A. degree. Whereas all French and foreign students are regularly required to enroll in an entire program at a certain institute, we received special authorization to enroll members of the Middlebury group in such parts of a program as corresponded to the individual student's need. This arrangement had never been made before in France, and constituted an exceptional favor, which, as one director said, "we are willing to grant because we know you and Middlebury, but we would do it for no one else."

Many more problems had to be worked out and information secured during my five weeks in Paris. After investigation, I engaged for our offices two rooms on the third floor of Reid Hall, in agreement with its president, Miss Dorothy Leet. Reid Hall, a fine old 18th century mansion on the rue de Chevreuse in the Montparnasse section, is only a short walk from the Sorbonne, and was already the headquarters of the Sweet Briar, Smith, and Maryland groups. Although our graduate students were to make their own arrangements for board and room under our supervision, I laid the groundwork for their arrival. Miss Sarah Watson, Directress of the Foyer International des Étudiantes, very near the Sorbonne, reserved places; as did Donald King, head of the Fondation des États-Unis at the Cité Universitaire. Jean Ehrhard, formerly of the Middlebury faculty, then head of the Accueil aux Étudiants, or Welcoming Committee for Foreign Students, provided a list of selected addresses of cultured French families willing to rent rooms. Information was secured relative to meals in the government-subsidized student cafeterias.

Official formalities and procedures were commonly the cause of great frustration for independent foreign students. I wished to assume them for our Middlebury group. M. Donzelot authorized me to enroll all our students in the Faculté des Lettres directly, as a graduate group, thus waiving the usually required equivalences of the baccalauréat and the propédeutique or post-graduate year. We were permitted to secure for them as a group the required cartes de séjour or police identity cards, a procedure which usually wasted hours of individual student time; and to pay their matriculation fees as a group. We were able to secure the student visa in this country for all students who could send their passport to the Middlebury office. Working closely with the secretaries of the various institutes, I was able to get approximate information on the work to be offered in the following academic year, and to estimate fees or other costs which Middlebury would pay directly.

Much of my work was done otherwise than in the official offices. In the cordial atmosphere of lunches and receptions offered by M. Joxe, other officials, and my many good friends in Paris, I was able to gain the needed information, clarify my own thinking, and work out the multitude of details. Most helpful were the men and women who had been members of the Middlebury French School faculty: Mme "Conny" Morize, Mme Moussu, Mlle Boucoiran, Mme Dussane, Mme Yvonne Michel, Pierre de Lanux, Albert Farmer, Jean Guéhenno, Louis Landré, the Gallois, the Carré, the Mayer, and many others. Their eager participation in the plan was a real joy.

Back in Middlebury, I gave full speed ahead to the publicity. A preliminary leaflet had already been sent out in December, describing the plan and its purpose. In March, 1949 a complete bulletin of 20 pages was printed, explaining the courses of instruction available, requirements and procedures for admission, living arrangements, social and intellectual contacts, expenses, and possible financial aids. This bulletin was sent to over 13,000 names. The response was most gratifying; a voluminous mail came from hundreds of interested students and from many teachers of French complimenting Middlebury College on its timely initiative. All correspondence, procedures and enrollments were handled by me in my office in Old Chapel.

As first Director of Studies I appointed Claude Bourcier, Dean of the Middlebury French School. My responsibilities were too heavy to allow me to be absent for a semester, and I had full confidence that Bourcier could put into operation the arrangements I had made. He was agrégé des lettres, graduate of the École Normale Supérieure, completely familiar with the workings of the University. He had also participated with Guilloton and me in the planning. He was granted leave of absence for the first semester and went to Paris in early September. The Director of Studies for the second semester was Mlle Germaine Brée, then professor at Bryn Mawr, agrégée d'anglais, and frequently a member of the Middlebury summer faculty since 1937. She had been in charge of a Bryn Mawr summer study group in Paris, and was on the joint committee supervising Fulbright Fellows in Paris for the whole year 1949-50. These two people implemented the complex details of the plan with wisdom and great skill.

The first year's group numbered 45, 24 men and 21 women, selected from among 65 formal applications. No undergraduates and no post-Master's students were accepted; the program was defined as a candidacy for the Middlebury M.A. degree. Every student was enrolled full-time for the year; no part-time or one-semester enrollments were accepted. It was an excellent group, of high intellectual quality, strongly motivated and dependable. Nearly all had majored in French in well-known colleges. They came from 15 different states. Eight of them held Fulbright grants, six had been awarded French Government Scholarships, 18 were veterans under the G.I. Bill. One had a Boston Globe Scholarship, one a Fellowship from the American Council of Learned Societies; one was an army officer under orders to prepare himself to teach at West Point. Only ten of them paid all their own expenses.

In accordance with our requirement of a preliminary summer of screening and preparation at Middlebury, all but seven had already studied at Middlebury, about half in 1949, the rest in previous summers. Five of those seven had spent the previous year in graduate study in France; the other two gave evidence of adequate preparation. The results vindicated our selection. Twenty-six completed all requirements for the Middlebury M.A. in Paris in June; five more at Middlebury during the summer of 1950; 31 diplomas were awarded at the August Commencement. Eleven completed the degree in later summer sessions, having preferred to spend the summer of 1950 traveling in Europe. Only three found the going too rough.

The first year of operation was a success, clearly due to four factors: the soundness of the concept itself within its limits, the careful selection of the students, the competence of the Directors of Studies, and the full cooperation of the French authorities. Problems there were, of course, and still are. The central problem stems from the most significant feature of the plan, namely that it organizes for each separate student an individual and balanced course of study adapted to his own needs. No two student programs are necessarily alike; in fact, out of the 45 in 1949, not more than eight were identical. The basic requirements for the M.A. are the same for all: an advanced course in written French, phonetics, literature, geography or history, and general culture. Yet many students have completed parts of these in Middlebury or elsewhere, or can take courses at different levels. Each student's program is thus tailor-made in individual conference with the Director, according to his own preparation and interests. Nothing of this sort is possible for the independent student in France. Contrary to the usual practice of Americans in France, our students kept faithfully their pledge to make French their language of habitual communication.

Our students have special permission to select parts of programs in several branches of the University of Paris. Thus, a student may take a course in pronunciation at the Institut de Phonétique, one in 17th century literature at the Faculté des Lettres, a course in contemporary literature at the École de Préparation, and one in composition and grammar at the Institut Britannique. Another student may take only one or two of those courses, and instead add some work at the Institut d'Études Politiques, and attend lectures on art at the École du Louvre. Mechanical difficulties are raised by these options; the Director has to arrange for special final examinations, and the payment of special fees. Final course grades at the end of a year are not usually given in the French system; they have to be requested specially, and the American equivalents established. More serious is the intellectual problem: our student, seeing only a portion of the institute's complete curriculum, often fails to comprehend the whole objective, the context, and therefore the method. We feel that the gain outweighs the disadvantages, however.

A related problem lies in the impersonality of the French university machine, the lack of any form of supervision or guidance, the apparent indifference to the student as an individual, the indefiniteness of study or reading assignments, the failure to provide the student with a check on his performance, the absence of personal or even professional contact between student and teacher. A major objective of the Middlebury plan is to remedy this situation for the members of our group.

Finding suitable living quarters in Paris is a difficult matter. The official university agencies, for all their good will, are able to give little real help. Although we assume no responsibility, the housing and feeding of our students has so vital an impact on the success of their year abroad, that the Director of Studies has to spend much time in a personal search for acceptable places, especially since he vetoes the unacceptable ones. Too many of our students have to take rooms in small hotels, at a cost beyond their means, or to live far out in the suburbs. We recommend strongly that students live in private families for the sake of the cultural contacts, but good places are extremely difficult to find.

Another serious problem is the lack of library and study space. Students are normally not permitted to use the Bibliothèque Nationale. At the Bibliothèque de l'Université, it is almost impossible to find a seat; and hours are wasted trying to get a book from the stacks. Special small reference libraries like those at the Cité, the Foyer International or Reid Hall are a help, but subject to limitations. For most students, there is a desperate lack of good library or study space, heated, lighted, and furnished with the necessary reference books.

From the financial point of view, the first year's operation was entirely satisfactory. The tuition fee of $400 covered all academic charges for the students—university enrollments, library, museum and examination fees. They paid their own costs of travel, board and room, and any other personal expenses. We estimated that for 1949-50, a student's minimum budget for nine months, September to June, should be about $1800, not including vacation travel and contingencies. From the college's point of view, the tuition fee of $400 from the 45 students more than covered our budget: academic costs in Paris, nominal at the Faculté des Lettres to fairly high at the Institut Britannique; the salary of the Director of Studies, considered as half-time service; rent of the office at Reid Hall; operational expenses in Paris; all publicity, bulletins, postage, and travel.

Students paid their tuition in three installments: a deposit upon acceptance, a payment of $250 before the end of August, and the balance in December. Our accounts became quite complicated. Tuition fees for the French Government fellows were waived by the University and rebated by us. Fulbright grantees were paid in francs in France and were permitted to pay Middlebury in francs. For several years, we had to carry three accounts in a Paris bank—dollars, convertible and non-convertible francs. Students on the G.I. Bill had to wait several months for payment, often at great hardship.

This first year was a pioneering operation. Claude Bourcier and Mlle Germaine Breé deserve great credit for the hard work and skill with which they made a success of a totally new idea. Their patience and tact with the French university bureaucracy overcame problems that had never been created before. Their detailed reports were most informative and valuable. Administrators, faculty members and students were all delighted and sometimes amazed that the plan worked.

The new Director of Studies for the first semester of 1950-51 was Vincent Guilloton, Professor at Smith College, Director of the Middlebury French Summer School. He had participated in the evolution of the idea. His familiarity with the French university system, with the Middlebury ideals, and with American students, made a perfect blend. For the second semester, I appointed Mlle Jeanne Boucoiran, licenciée-ès-lettres, a professor in the Alliance Française de Paris since 1933. She had been for several years a member of the staff of the Direction Générale des Relations Culturelles; and taught at Middlebury in the summers of 1948 and 1949. She brought to the program three major assets—knowledge of American students and their needs, experience as a teacher, and valuable contacts with government and university administrators. With great devotion and skill she directed our Graduate School every second semester without interruption for 17 years, until her retirement in 1967. Her marriage in 1951 to France's former premier Édouard Daladier enhanced her prestige.

Success continued strong in the second year. Excellent publicity and much praise in academic circles in this country brought us an increase in applications, and an enrollment of 56 select students. There were 34 men, 22 women; 28 were veterans under the G. I. Bill, seven held Fulbright grants, three held French Government fellowships. Fifteen were experienced teachers of French; all were training to use French professionally as teachers, secretaries, in library work, broadcasting, or international trade.

The year served to identify further the problems in the program and to work toward some solutions. Perhaps the most difficult adjustment for our American students was getting used to working on their own, really acquiring their own education. At home, they were accustomed to schools where each class dealt with a specific topic and they were told to prepare for it by reading certain pages in a book. Every month or so, a quiz would tell them how well they had read and remembered. French university education is the antithesis of this. A course in the Faculté des Lettres announced as 17th century literature might turn out to be a series of ten lectures on one act of Molière's *Amphitryon*. The professor might give no assignments at all, or might suggest a bibliography of fifty books. No quizzes, no check-ups, no conferences; then at the end of the year, or two, an examination of unannounced content which seemed to the student to have little connection with the lectures or with the reading he had done. He tended to sign up for too many courses because the content was vague; he procrastinated because no one prodded him; he cried unfair when no one told him what he would be examined on; he tended to work for grades and "credits" instead of trying to discover what was in the French mind. Our Director of Studies was constantly faced with the task of initiating our students into a different educational philosophy, and showing them that this was why they were in France.

For the Director, the intricacies and inefficiences of the French system were something else again. The Institut d'Études Politiques opened on October 15, and its program was fairly precise; the Institut de Phonétique likewise gave us little trouble. For the other parts of the university, it was impossible to know in advance what instruction would be offered. Our Middlebury bulletin attempted only a rash guess. As late as November 15, courses at the Faculté des Lettres would be announced for the following day by a slip on the bulletin board, or cancelled just as nonchalantly; classrooms and hours would be announced and then changed, making conflicts in schedules. At the École de Préparation, a Stage d'Orientation from mid-October to mid-November helped to fill the gap, and provided our students with a useful initiation into French procedures.

The matter of grades and credits was a peculiarly American problem which we had to solve ourselves. The French grading system uses a scale of 0 to 20, but since many of the state examinations are a competition for places, there is no fixed "passing" grade. It is usually 10, 11, or 12; 13 is considered very good. This cannot be translated mathematically into the Middlebury scale of a graduate passing grade of 80 out of 100. It was our task to ascertain the recommended passing grade in a certain institute, and establish a parallel scale of American graduate grades, on the basis of a fair percentage distribution, with periodic adjustments.

More complex was the matter of semester hours of credit, 30 being required for the Middlebury M.A. The French system has nothing corresponding. As a rule of thumb, one class meeting of an hour a week for 15 weeks counts as one credit. One hour a week of lecture, with voluminous outside reading, papers, and reports for the short university year of 20 weeks may well be worth more than six credits, whereas two hours daily of pronunciation practice may be worth no more. At first we tried to publish the number of credits for each course; this was abandoned, and the Director of Studies had to work out the credit values in Paris, depending on the amount of study required.

It soon became evident that Reid Hall was too far from the Sorbonne to be a social center for the group. The students came for appointments at the office, but after the year was well underway, few took the time to "stop by." In order to create an esprit de corps and cultural contacts, numerous official meetings of the group, with attendance required, were arranged by the Director, with the cooperation of an elected president of the group. Some were work-sessions for official procedures and announcements; some were lectures by distinguished literary or cultural personalities; some were musicals, dances, or receptions attended by many of the professors. For many years, group excursions have been organized; to places around Paris like the Hôtel de Lauzun, a rehearsal at the Opéra, the Centre Pédagogique de Sèvres; or to Chartres, the Loire country in the fall, to Vèzelay and the Burgundy country in the spring. Students comment on the difficulty of making friends among French students. There is no easy way, since there is no extracurricular life in a French university. We can sug-

Members of the Graduate School of French in France were received at the Paris City Hall in October 1951. Left to right in front row: the City Hall guide, Mr. Freeman, Mrs. Freeman, Mme Moussu, Mme Daladier, an official, Mr. Watkins (then a student, later Director of a group)

gest avenues of approach; but strong initiative must come from the American student. For the many frustrations, the "culture shock", and the slow adaptation to a totally different learning experience, we found that good health and superior mental balance were as important as intelligence for success in the program.

For the third year of the school, 1951-52, I was able, with the kind approval of President Stratton, to be absent from Middlebury for the first semester, and to direct the school myself. I was naturally eager to see at first hand how my dreams and schemes of 1949 had worked out in actual practice. My trip was further motivated by the fact that I had founded a Graduate School of Spanish in Spain, in Madrid, on the same plan, opening at the same time. I considered it important to inspect the operation, to support the Director of Studies, Miss Margarita de Mayo, and to assist in the solution of any problems that might have arisen.

I found that the School in Paris got underway with a minimum of trouble. In Reid Hall, we were "promoted" to better offices on the second floor front, which the Sweet Briar group had vacated. The Univ. of Maryland had already terminated its graduate program. Our 42 students: 25 men and 17 women, 7 Fulbrighters, 3 French Government fellows, 16 G.I.'s, all reported to me individually during the first week of October for a personal conference. Diagnostic examinations were given by the Ecole de Preparation and the results returned to me promptly. With the help of these, individual programs and schedules were designed in a second personal conference early in November. Necessary revisions were made as the university confusion finally subsided, and the students went to work with a will. I was besieged by Americans who had arrived on their own, begging insistently to join the Middlebury group; I refused practically all of them.

My predecessors, Bourcier and Guilloton and Mlle Boucoiran had developed an excellent routine, and admirable relations with the heads of the various institutes. Our weaker students spent much of their time at the Institut Britannique, where good courses in grammar, composition, phonetics, literature and history were taught by skillful professors familiar with English-speaking students. Our more advanced students used the École de Préparation, especially the difficult programs in Littérature Contemporaine and the Cours de Perfectionnement. A few went to the Institut de Phonétique, but its schedule was awkward. A few, well prepared in the social sciences, attended the Institut d'Études Politiques. Not as many as we wished attended regularly any of the series of lectures at the Faculté des Lettres. Occasionally, a student received permission to work at the École du Louvre, or another branch of the University.

Schedules and financial accounts were time-consuming, and secretarial help inadequate. I found our students highly motivated and most appreciative of all that was done for them. At the final reception before I left in January, about 110 guests from our academic and administrative community attended, giving our students an opportunity to chat with people whom a French student would never meet socially. The semester was for me and my wife a delightful experience in which the minor problems and vexations were readily forgotten.

The pattern of the School in France was by this time firmly established, and was followed for many years without major change. In order to maintain as much continuity as possible in the administration, Mme Jeanne Boucoiran Daladier was the Director of Studies every second semester through 1967. The important duties of arranging final examinations, establishing student grades, settling all financial accounts with the students and with the several branches of the University, and transmitting to me in Middlebury each July the full final records for the year, were fulfilled by her with accuracy and promptness.

For each first semester, in order to maintain close liaison with the Middlebury French School and with me, I rotated the position of Director of Studies among its leaders. This gave them an opportunity to get acquainted early with the students going abroad and with their summer preparation. Thus, Vincent Guilloton took charge again for the first semesters of 1953-54 and 1955-56; Claude Bourcier again in 1957-58, 1962-63, 1966-67; Jean Boorsch in 1956-57; I went over again in 1964-65.

Other distinguished teachers of the Middlebury family who acted as Director of Studies in the first semester under my supervision were: in 1952-53 Dr. William N. Locke, Chairman of the Dept. of Modern Languages and later Librarian at M.I.T.; in 1954-55 Dr. George C. Waterston, M.A. Middlebury, Docteur de l'Université de Paris, teacher at the Brooks School; in 1958-59 Marc Denkinger, licencié-ès-lettres, Ph.D. Harvard, Professor at the Univ. of Michigan, member of the Middlebury summer faculty since 1928; in 1959-60, Mme Léontine Moussu, Professor at the Institut de Phonétique, and at Middlebury summers since 1934.

In 1960-61, the first semester Director was Prof. Luc Dariosecq of Mt.

Holyoke College, agrégé de philosophie; in 1961-62, Prof. Maurice Coindreau of Princeton, agrégé de l'université, well-known critic and translator of American novels, teaching at Middlebury summers since 1938; in 1963-64, Prof. James Watkins of the Middlebury year-round faculty, a product of our program in France; in 1965-66 Prof. Blanchard Rideout of Cornell University, Ph.D. Cornell, former student at Middlebury.

Beginning in 1966, the German and Spanish Schools arranged to rotate their Director of Studies abroad among the members of the winter session department, and for a full year. At the same time the long-standing plan of a semester of leave every four years for the resident deans of the summer schools was terminated. It appeared desirable to have the School in Paris also directed on a full-year basis, instead of appointing Mme Daladier in the second semester. There was now adequate continuing secretarial help.

In 1967-68 therefore, Prof. Jean Vadon of the Middlebury faculty, licencié and CAPES, became the Director of Studies. Prof. James Watkins took his place for the year 1968-69. Dean Claude Bourcier was the Director of Studies from 1969 to 1975. Beginning in September 1968, I transferred to him the Middlebury end of the School's operation which I had carried personally since its founding—the selection of students, correspondence, records and publicity. He returned to Middlebury each summer for these duties, as well as to teach and participate in the summer's activities; but since he remained in France nine months of the year, he became Dean Emeritus of the French Summer School in 1972. He retired definitively in 1975.

Enrollments declined during the depression of the early 1950's, in the same way as the summer school enrollments. Numbers in the School in France decreased from the high of 56 in 1950-51 to 29 in 1954-55. The year of 1955-56 was exceptional with 53, but the figure dropped to 31 the following year and did not climb back to 50 until 1961-62. During the 1960's, the enrollment fluctuated between 57 and 85, with an average of 67. Then in 1969, Bourcier was able to admit 99, a high point, and really too many for a single administrator to handle. The number has declined since 1970, parallel with the summer schools.

Although the major premises of the plan have not changed, their implementation has been adapted to the instruction offered, and to the quality and the interests of the students. A conspicuous example concerns the "courses" or series of lectures at the Faculté des Lettres. These are the highest level of instruction at the university, but the methods and procedures are so different, and so disconcerting to the American student, that they were being neglected by most of our group. At length, in 1957, we decided to require each student to enroll formally for at least one series of lectures. We assigned to him a répétiteur or tutor who recommended specific readings on the subject matter, and held bi-weekly discussion sessions or explications de textes to compensate for the unsupervised character of the French system. Then in order to make this experience really worth while, we required each student to write a mémoire or long paper, of some 30 pages, on a selected topic, under the guidance of the répétiteur. This paper, though not the equivalent of a Master's thesis, had the added advantage of testing the student's ability to write a serious piece of work in acceptable French, following the rules of French literary composition. It became an overall diagnosis of the student's profit from the year of study.

As the enrollment increased and the quality of student preparation rose, our use of the various institutes shifted. The Institut Britannique had been valuable in the early years for instruction in grammar and composition to English-speaking students, and for the less advanced courses in literature and civilization. By 1963, such courses became less needed, as our students had already had them. Especially after the death of our beloved Mme Moussu, who was popular for the work in diction, our use of the Institut Britannique decreased. For students who wanted additional work in advanced composition and stylistics, we created a special course of our own, taught at Reid Hall by Mme Kohler. Fewer students went to the Institut de Phonétique, since most had satisfied the requirement by a course at Middlebury. In recent years, the bulk of student interest has quite logically turned to the wide range of courses in language, literature and civilization offered at the École de Préparation, now called the Institut des Professeurs de Français à l'Étranger. A course in teaching methods is now offered at the Centre International d'Études Pédagogiques de Sèvres. These, with the mémoire at the Faculté and an occasional sortie into a specialized field like the Institut d'Études Politiques or the École du Louvre, remain the standard program.

I had the privilege of taking personal charge again during the first semester of 1964-65. It was a significant period in many ways. Reid Hall had been given to Columbia University, which planned to operate it as an American educational center. In the reorganization, we were able to secure better offices, freshly redecorated, on the third floor overlooking the garden. I bought some new furniture and increased the equipment. Mrs. Freeman and I rented a little apartment adjoining the office. In the alterations of the building, more classrooms were provided, a fine Salle des Fêtes, a large dining room open for regular meals; and the beginnings of a much needed reference library. We were able to engage a good bi-lingual secretary for full time October to June, thus relieving the director of much routine and paper work.

The school was larger than usual, with 85 students, 60 women and 25 men. Eleven were Fulbright fellows, two had French Government grants, two had Alliance Française awards, six were sent by West Point. The French authorities gradually became accustomed to our procedure of enrolling the group en bloc, paying all fees at one time, securing all the official cartes de séjour in one session, and saving the individual students untold hours of waiting.

There was nothing that we could do, however, about the serious inefficiency of the secretariat of the Faculté des Lettres, due in part to the flood of students from all countries, in part to the inadequacy of competent secretarial personnel, and in part to the jealously guarded independence of the professors. Classrooms were insufficient, instructing staff in very short supply. By government decree, classes were supposed to begin before the end of October. As late as November 15, no office could tell me what classes would be taught, by whom, when or where. Schedules were changed or cancelled, forcing our students to reshuffle their entire program. I was as disgusted as they were. Then the chaos began all over again in the scheduling of final examinations from May to July, to the frustration of students making travel plans. Grading was not done promptly either; and students arriving in Middlebury for the summer session often did not know until mid-July whether they had passed a course. Some slight improvement has occurred since the reorganization of the university in 1969.

The "Events of May 1968" had a minimum impact on our School in Paris. The student riots and the final closing of the University came when the regular classes had almost ended. Our students had the good sense to stay away from the demonstrations. Jean Vadon, our Director of Studies, arranged for our final examinations to be given at Reid Hall, and corrected privately by the teachers or répétiteurs. The final grades were received in Middlebury with no more than the usual delay.

The subsequent reorganization of the University of Paris, its division into several Universities, and the changes in the new Facultés des Lettres et Sciences Humaines made many problems for James Watkins in 1968-69. In the following two years, Claude Bourcier found the situation in the several Universités de Paris more clarified, and he has been able to take advantage of some new programs. The new Unités d'Enseignement et de Recherche offer good groupings for work in literature, history, geography and art. One result of the reorganization has been the introduction of more travaux dirigés or supervised studies and seminars in the American manner. Complaints had developed over the quality of instruction in the I.P.F.E., too often geared to the American undergraduate level. A reorganization there gives hope of improvement. Because of the location and distance, we have found it inadvisable as yet for our students to go to any of the other Universités de Paris, as for example, at Nanterre. Practically all of our instruction is still provided in Paris. Columbia University is questioning its operation of Reid Hall, however; and the location of our office there is subject to change.

The financial operauion of the Graduate School in France up to 1970 may be reported simply as returning a very considerable profit to Middlebury College. Matriculation fees at the University were nominal, and fees at all the institutes except the Britannique were reasonable. The salary of the Director of Studies was very modest, theoretically on half-time in the early years since he was dealing with graduate students, but in fact devoting many hours to all phases of the school's activities. Our tuition fee could therefore be kept very low, $400 for several years, and only $500 through 1963-64. In 1950-51, with 56 students, the income was $22,400. About $8500 went for fees in Paris, $3750 for the Directors, $600 for rent of Reid Hall, $1500 for catalogs, publicity, and the operation at Middlebury, $750 for secretarial help. Nearly $7000 was returned to the college as profit. A small amount was tagged as a revolving loan fund for needy students, but rarely used.

In the lean years of the mid-1950's, less profit was made, but the operation remained in the black. In 1961-62, with student tuition at $500, the Directors' salaries were up to $5000, Reid Hall's rent was $1000; fees in France were about $9000 for 50 students; but with an income of $25,000, we still had $4000 left over at the end of the year. Since then, expenses have increased rapidly. The Directors' salaries, rent, fees at the I.P.F.E., printing, and secretarial costs all mounted. We increased the tuition fee to $600, then to $700 in 1967-68, then a yearly increase up to $1000 in 1971-72, and it is still going up, due chiefly to the accelerating inflation both here and in France. In 1969-70, with 99 students paying $800 each, the income of $79,200 still left a generous profit for the college.

But an educational program must not be judged by the amount of money it makes or loses. The Middlebury Graduate School of French in France has brought enormous prestige to the College, and added a new dimension to the preparation of teachers of French.

The International Institute for Girls in Spain, at Miguel Angel 8, Madrid. Headquarters of the Middlebury Graduate School of Spanish in Spain

THE GRADUATE SCHOOLS ABROAD

The Graduate School of Spanish in Spain, 1951 –

The plan was clear, it worked, and by 1951 it was ready to create another Middlebury Graduate School Abroad. The Spanish School was the next largest of the Language Schools, and the most likely to support such an initiative. We had to be cautious, for the summer enrollments were trending downward. As early as the summer of 1949, before the School in France had actually started, Dr. Angel del Río, then Director of the Spanish School, and Dean Samuel Guarnaccia had shown strong interest in the possibility of a school in Spain. With President Stratton's approval, we continued discussions during the winter.

Another interested person was Edward Larocque Tinker, to whom Middlebury had given an honorary degree in June. A lawyer, author of books on Argentina and Louisiana, he had cordial relations with officials in Spain, and was planning a visit there. In March 1950, Dr. Stratton, Dr. del Río and I met with him in New York to consider how he could help us. Later we provided him with letters in Spanish addressed to the Minister of National Education and the Director General of University Instruction, explaining the project and its operation in France. During the month of May, Mr. Tinker saw those men and other officials and secured their approval of the idea in principle. His report supplied helpful guidance for our planning.

To ascertain the interest and preferences of our students, I circulated a questionnaire in the Spanish School in the summer of 1950. Twelve students indicated a definite interest in a School in Spain for the academic year 1951-52 and 14 for the following year. With this encouragement, and with the hearty support of del Río and Guarnaccia, I submitted to Pres. Stratton and the Board of Trustees on October 10, 1950 a letter recommending the establishment of a Middlebury College Graduate School of Spanish in Spain. I noted the distinct success of the School in France, and stated my belief that we were ready to undertake a similar project in Spain, with the same objectives and following the same principles of operation.

The possibilities of advanced study for an independent American student in Spain, I pointed out, were even less satisfactory than in France. There was no unified and clearly defined program of graduate study in Spanish language and culture for Americans in Spain. The long period during which no Americans had been studying in Spain had broken all continuity with the programs offered before the Spanish Civil War. Good courses of instruction existed at the University of Madrid and in some provincial universities, but American students did not know where to find them nor how to secure permission to take them. No final examinations were given nor certificates granted for single courses. The student was limited to the status of an unrecognized auditor, and came home with nothing to show for his effort. Our program in France had overcome these difficulties, and I felt that the idea could be applied successfully to Spain.

The Trustees gave their approval. Application was made to the Carnegie Corporation for another grant to cover the initial expenses. Angel del Río was asked to go to Spain to make the detailed academic arrangements as I had done in France, since my Spanish was not of diplomatic quality. Confident planning went ahead during the autumn. A proposed balanced budget of $8000 was drawn up, on the basis of a projected enrollment of 20 students. A preliminary announcement was published in December 1950, describing the plan and the tentative program. Its 3000 copies were sent to all Spanish School alumni and distributed widely by mail and at teachers' meetings during the Christmas recess.

We were disappointed to learn in November that the Carnegie Corporation had not approved our application. Vice President John W. Gardner wrote a courteous letter explaining their reason. The corporation had been interested in supporting the French project primarily as a demonstration of a new and untried, potentially useful arrangement for the training of language teachers. Since this demonstration had proven successful, their objective had been achieved. The primary interest of the corporation was not in languages and literatures. On the other hand, it was strongly interested in area studies, particularly those areas like Latin America where the interest of the United States was heavily involved. Dr. Gardner urged that we consider locating our graduate school somewhere in Latin America, in order to strengthen the role of language teachers in the increasing public and academic concern with Latin America.

Dr. Gardner's point of view and the tempting implication of possible support were carefully discussed. We reasoned that Middlebury's main objective was to train teachers of Spanish, exceptionally well prepared in the language, literature and culture of the whole Spanish-speaking world. Spain was better adapted to our purposes than any one of the Latin American countries. The regular academic calendar in South America, except Colombia, runs from February to November, astride of two academic years for an American teacher. A year spent in a university in Peru or Chile would undoubtedly impart an excellent knowledge of the literature and culture of Peru or Chile, but we felt unsure that it would give our students a broad knowledge of all areas of Spanish-speaking culture. History, law and some other subjects were well taught in most of the Latin-American universities, but subjects like grammar, phonetics or even literature, according to modern methods, varied in quality. Subsequently, from September 1962 to January 1963, I visited many of the South American universities on a research project sponsored by the Institute of International Education. I verified the fact that, with a few notable exceptions, the South American universities presented difficult problems: the various faculties were closed and inflexible to the needs of American students; libraries and study facilities were inadequate; professor-student relations were as distant as in Europe; political interference and strikes were generally worse than in Europe.

We thanked the Carnegie Corporation for its suggestion, and expressed the hope that some time in the future we might consider a graduate school in Latin America. For the present, we decided to go on with the original plan, if we could secure the necessary support. Mr. Redfield Proctor, former chairman of

Middlebury's Board of Trustees, was my friend in need. Early in December, he sent me a check for $1500, which defrayed the expenses of Dr. del Río, who flew to Madrid on January 12, 1951. Europe was in the throes of a real war scare at that time, due to the outbreak of war in Korea, and we stood ready to cancel the whole matter on a moment's notice. Dr. del Río completed his mission, however. In three weeks of skillful diplomatic effort, he secured permission from the government and university authorities to establish our School in Spain as nearly as possible along the lines of the School in France.

Señor Sedó of the Cultural Relations office and Don Cayetano Alcazar, Director General of University Instruction, opened the way to the University of Madrid. There, the Rector, Don Pedro Laín Entralgo; the Dean, Don Francisco Sánchez Cantón; and the Secretary of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters, Don Manuel Fernández-Galiano, were very helpful. At the Instituto de Cultura Hispánica, Don Alfredo Sánchez-Bella and his colleagues welcomed the project and promised cooperation. Four grants of room and board were secured for men in one of the University Residencias or dormitories, and four for women in another Residencia. The Cultural Relations office gave four additional fellowships covering room and board for nine months. Tentative agreements were made with key professors. In Washington, courtesy calls had also been made on the Spanish Ambassador, Don José de Lequerica, and on Señor Manuel Cañal, the Cultural Relations Officer.

Dr. del Río and I were acutely aware that these relationships were far more delicate than the corresponding ones in France. On one hand, the important preliminary task was to create, after a dozen years of separation, an atmosphere of cooperation and good will. Dr. del Río's tact did this very successfully. At the same time, he realized the necessity of keeping Middlebury's relationship strictly within academic limits. The political regime in Spain was in complete control of the university, the appointment of its professors, and even of the instruction offered. It tended to use to its own advantage for propaganda all contacts with foreign institutions. The Middlebury Spanish Summer School, which had been a refuge for many Spanish men of letters exiled by the Franco government, could not now appear to endorse its policies at the University of Madrid. Dr. del Río had made this clear in refraining from inviting government officials as lecturers at Middlebury. We now had to walk the fine line of cordiality toward the authorities and independence in the operation of our academic program.

Dr. del Río's successful trip furnished the basis for action in the spring and summer of 1951. Miss Margarita de Mayo accepted the appointment as Director of Studies for the academic year 1951-52. Professor and Chairman of the Spanish Dept. at Vassar College, she had her Master's degree from Middlebury in 1927, and had taught here many times since 1925. Thoroughly familiar with Madrid, Middlebury and its students, alert, energetic and an experienced administrator, she was an ideal director for the first year of the school. She came to Middlebury for two weeks in July for meetings with us and the students. She then flew to Madrid where she completed arrangements for our office and for the living quarters of our students in the Colegios and in the city. The joint Bulletin of the Graduate Schools of French in France and Spanish in Spain was published in May. Its cover had pictures of Mead Chapel, the Pantheon in Paris, and the court of the University of Salamanca, since it had been intended that the School would go there for the second semester.

The office and meeting place of the School was located in the building of the International Institute for Girls in Spain (I.I.G.S.), at Miguel Angel 8, Miss Mary Sweeney, Secretary. Situated in a nice residential section of Madrid, and long known as a center for American students, this fine edifice provided offices, classrooms, and a meeting hall for the Middlebury and other groups, and contact with the intellectual and social life of Madrid.

The first of October 1951 found the pioneer group of the Middlebury Graduate School of Spanish in Spain composed of 21 students, seven men and 14 women. They came from 17 different colleges. By exception, since there was at that time no Junior Year group in Spain, three Middlebury College juniors were accepted, and two junior girls from Barnard College. Mrs. del Río was a member of the faculty at Barnard and one of the girls was her daughter. Three post-Masters students were also associated with the group, counting the year toward the Middlebury Doctorate in Modern Languages. Since the group was small, Miss de Mayo was able to supervise their special individual study. Five of the men were using their G.I. entitlement. Eight students held one-semester scholarships from the Ministry of Cultural Relations. Eight students lived in the Colegios, the rest in private homes or boarding houses secured by Miss de Mayo. It was a heterogeneous group, with ages ranging from 18 to 64, but Miss de Mayo reported that the undergraduates gave less trouble and had fewer problems than the older ones, and the women less than the men.

Our students were granted the unusual privilege of visiting classes in October before enrolling, in order to ascertain their level of preparation and their interests. The choice of professors presented a sensitive problem. The Spanish university professor has complete unchallenged authority over his class. Certain of the professors at Madrid were outspoken in their dislike of American students. Miss de Mayo discreetly advised students to select courses in which the cooperation of the professor was assured. In this way, and with the help of urbane Dean Sánchez Cantón, serious conflicts were avoided. On the other hand, the preparation of our students was not generally adequate for Professor Lapesa's excellent course on the History of the Spanish Language; only three attended it regularly and did not take the final examination. Few of our students were adequately prepared for the advanced courses in Spanish history and art. The most popular teachers were Professors Bousoño, Rumeu, Alcázar, Morales-Oliver, and Terán. Altogether our students were enrolled in 13 courses in the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters.

The two professors who gave the chief courses in Spanish Literature refused to accept American students. The section of Courses for Foreigners was not at graduate level. No courses in composition or phonetics appeared in the university curriculum. It was necessary for us, therefore, to create a course in Spanish Literature, two sections of composition, and a course in phonetics. They were given at Miguel Angel 8, and brought nearly all the students regularly to the central office and to closer contact with the Director. Unlike our program in Paris, where students were scattered among several different branches of the university, our students in Madrid had all their courses either at the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters, or at Miguel Angel 8. They were not qualified to enroll in the Faculty of Political Sciences. Since no attendance was taken at the University, some laxness developed in class attendance, especially around the Christmas, Easter, and other vacations.

Social and cultural contacts were rich. Miss de Mayo organized several gatherings in the lounge at Miguel Angel 8, and invited personalities from the Department of Education, the faculty, and the American Embassy. Another center of activity was the Ateneo, where series of lectures and concerts were held, and its fine library was a convenient place to study. The membership fee was paid for all Middlebury students who desired. Organized visits were made to the Prado and other museums, to the theatres, to the Palacio Real; and excursions to El Escorial, Toledo, Segovia, and other cities of historic interest. Many of these trips were made under the direction of Don Enrique La Fuente, professor of fine arts at the University. He made a valuable contribution to the success of the program.

With 21 students, the budget of the School in Spain balanced easily, with a little margin. The salary of the Director of Studies was $3000; rent at Miguel Angel 8 was $400; tuition fees at the University amounted to less than $1000; the extra courses to less than $700; memberships and other fees in Madrid, and operational expense to about $1000. All bulletins, publicity, secretarial and operations costs in Middlebury brought the total to a little over $7000, compared to the income of $8400.

Directing our School in France for the first semester of that year, I watched the opening of the School in Spain from the closer vantage point of Paris. When the French program had begun to steady down to a routine, on November 20, Mrs. Freeman and I drove to Madrid, and spent five busy days with Miss de Mayo and the group. I was happy to pay courtesy calls on several officials, especially the Rector and the Dean of the Faculty, to thank them for their excellent cooperation, also on Dr. Earle Titus, Cultural Attaché at the American Embassy, whose assistance in several crucial problems had been invaluable.

This was an opportune moment, for a serious problem had arisen. It had been planned from the beginning that the School would go in the second semester to the University of Salamanca. Dr. Manuel García-Blanco, the Secretary and distinguished Professor of that university, had been Visiting Professor at Middlebury several times beginning in 1932, and was here in the summer of 1951. He therefore knew well the Middlebury students and their needs. The University of Salamanca had initiated a special second-semester program entitled Curso Superior de Filología Hispánica, whose content and high quality were particularly adapted to the Middlebury curriculum. The majority of our students, however, had decided that they preferred to stay in Madrid. They were finally adjusted to their courses; they had made friends among Spanish people; they feared a new orientation; they had heard that there was less cultural activity in Salamanca; housing for women students appeared to be a problem. We listened to their pleas; consulted Dr. del Río. Dr. García-Blanco was most understanding and reasonable. At length, we decided to let the group stay in Madrid. One student did go to Salamanca after all, and several spent the second semester there in later years.

We endeavored to persuade Miss de Mayo to stay for another year, but she regretfully decided that she must return to her place at Vassar. We were then happy to appoint Dean Samuel Guarnaccia as Director of Studies for the first semester of 1952-53. He was eager to go to Spain again; and had been handling all the applications and records for the School in Spain. Middlebury A.B. and M.A., he had taught here since 1940, interrupted only by service in the U.S. Navy; and was then Chairman of the Spanish Department. Miss de Mayo was able to meet him in Madrid and introduce him to the university authorities. Financial red tape at the bank in Madrid was finally straightened out.

The enrollment in the second year numbered 17: 13 men and four women. Seven of the students were supported by the G.I. Bill; six had one-semester scholarships from the Spanish Government covering board and room. Smith College began its Junior Year in Madrid, so by mutual agreement we took no more junior women; they recommended graduate students to us. We cooperated in the use of the facilities of Miguel Angel 8. Since they took no men, we took two Middlebury sophomore men, majors in Spanish and highly qualified.

The lack of good courses in literature and culture by cooperative professors at the University led us to engage Professor Carlos Bousoño to give a new course called Introduction to Spain. Against a background of thorough information on the geography, history and government of Spain, it gave an interpretation of Spanish thought and literature, especially needed by American students. Professor Bousoño was one of the most able and popular professors at the University. The course was financed by Middlebury; it accepted a few Spanish-speaking students outside of our group; was given at first at Miguel Angel 8, and later transferred to the University itself. It served a real need for several years.

Other useful courses were those given by Professors Melón, Tamayo, and Bustamante. Our better students took one of the courses from the program of the Diploma de Estudios Hispánicos, taught by Professors Bousoño, Catena, López-Gómez and Pita. The specialized Cursos Monográficos offered a popular course on Quijote. Courses in composition and phonetics were organized at Miguel Angel 8 for our own students, by Señorita Isabel García Lorca and Señora Elisa Bernis de Menéndez Pidal.

Since Dean Guarnaccia had to return to Middlebury in February 1953, Professor Manuel Alcalá, Doctor of Letters from the National University of Mexico, Chairman of the Spanish Dept. at Bryn Mawr, was appointed Director of Studies for the second semester, and for the first semester of 1953-54. He also directed the studies of two Middlebury D.M.L. candidates. The economic and international outlook had begun to improve; good publicity helped; and the School in Spain increased to 30, 17 men and 13 women. Eight of them came under the G.I. Bill. For the second semester, the Director was Professor John B. Rust of Sweet Briar, M.A. from Middlebury, for five years Director of the U.S. Cultural Centers in South America.

By the end of the third year, the situation of the School in Spain had become stable and fairly clear. Its strengths and problems were about the same as for the School in France. The strengths lay in the basic concept, in the limitation of its objectives, the careful selection of the students, and the close personal supervision by an experienced resident Director of Studies. In Madrid, the cohesion of the group was aided by having the office and class center at Miguel Angel 8, since all students took at least one course there.

The problems of adaptation were somewhat more difficult than in France. The university system was even more rigid, and less flexible to the needs of American students, and to our M.A. requirements. While we received good cooperation from the government and university authorities, the professors were, with some notable exceptions, less cooperative, more impersonal, and less interested in their students. As a result, our students, generally poorly prepared for the academic demands of the Spanish system, and not accustomed to working so exclusively on their own, had much difficulty in adapting, and needed much guidance. They found it hard to get acquainted with Spanish people, especially with young people. Few lived with private families: most of those not in the residencias lived in boarding houses, often with other foreigners. The "culture shock" was therefore rather severe; but by the end of the year, with the help of our Director, they usually succeeded in becoming acclimated, and found the year instructive and valuable in many ways.

The pattern was now set, and varied little for the next decade. There were few changes in professors and courses at the university; our students identified the successful ones from year to year. The size of the Middlebury group fluctuated more than we expected. The low point was 27 in 1955-56. The next year, an unexplained contingent of 21 veterans raised the enrollment to 43. It varied between 29 and 41 in the following five years. Tuition still remained at $500. Since the expense was nearly the same each year, the university fees being proportionately very small, we balanced the budget easily with 30 students, and showed a sizeable profit with 40.

The Directors of Studies form a distinguished roster. In 1954-55, she was Mrs. Catherine Centeno, widow of the former Director Juan Centeno; B.S. and M.A. Middlebury, Lecturer in Spanish at the college, and connected with the Spanish School since 1929. She was succeeded by another long-time and beloved teacher of Spanish at Middlebury, Miss Rose E. Martin, M.A. Middlebury, member of the winter faculty since 1928, and frequently a member of the summer staff. Richard L. Predmore was the Director in 1956-57. He won the Middlebury D.M.L. in 1941, was Professor of Spanish at Duke University. Dean Guarnaccia and Dr. del Río shared the year 1957-58, bringing up to date their personal contact with the school. Dr. Manuel Alvarez Morales, Professor at the Univ. of Oriente, and member of the Spanish summer faculty since 1948, followed them.

For the year 1959-60, we had appointed Miss Rose Martin again, in keeping with her wish to spend in Spain her last year before her retirement from Middlebury College. God ruled otherwise, for she died suddenly on April 15, 1959, in the midst of her preparations for departure. Miss Marina Bourgeal Ustariz kindly agreed to replace her. Licenciado from the Univ. of Madrid, Miss Bourgeal taught at Middlebury from 1951 to 1955, and had been a member of the summer faculty since 1952. Dr. Lawrence B. Kiddle of the Univ. of Michigan came next; and in 1961-62, the Director was Dr. Weston Flint of Duke University.

Little by little we grew aware that the courses at the University of Madrid were becoming less and less satisfactory. The students complained that besides the usual European impersonality, many of the professors were not reliable, and were not doing their job. Courses would begin weeks or months late, classes were cancelled without warning, subject matter was changed, examinations did not correspond to the instruction; grading was whimsical and erratic. Our Directors of Studies had their problems too. No dependable curriculum or schedule of courses was available at the beginning of the year. Courses were cancelled when the professor decided to go on leave. Final examinations were not given as arranged; final grades could not be secured until long afterward.

Perhaps worst of all, we were greatly handicapped by political difficulties. We could not secure instruction from recognized authorities in certain fields because they were politically "non grata" to the administration. In February 1956, a group of Falangestas, not university students, invaded Miguel Angel 8, and proceeded to wreck the place, beginning with the basement lounge, where they broke glass, smashed furniture and tore out plumbing fixtures. They were arrested; but later there were street clashes and riots at the University, which was then closed for a period. The majority of the university students were not siding with the official falangist student syndicate. Continuing disturbances of this sort distracted the attention of the professors and disrupted studies.

As an experiment, for the year 1962-63, we reduced drastically the number of university courses which we recommended for regular enrollment. Professor Bousoño's two courses previously given at the University were brought back to Miguel Angel 8. Our students were instructed to take at least half of their work, especially the literature courses, in our own headquarters. Dean Guarnaccia was in charge of the group during the first semester and watched results.

The experiment was so clearly the answer to the problem, that in 1963-64, I took the decisive step of withdrawing our School entirely from any official connection with the University, and of offering all necessary instruction at our own center in Miguel Angel 8. We engaged university professors, and also other teachers not politically acceptable to the University, and paid their salaries directly to them. We were thus in complete control of the content, quality, and schedules of our instruction, freed from any interference by administrative action, student strikes, or closing of the University. We naturally had to give up the few rooms in the Residencias, and the government scholarships. Our students were encouraged to audit lectures at the University, and to enroll if they wished, and we paid their fees. There was no break in our cordial relations with the Rector and the Dean. I believe they understood that we simply had to make sure that our students received instruction corresponding to our requirements for the Middlebury Master's degree.

Our curriculum was enriched. In the next two years we arranged a new series of courses which remained quite stable for the next decade. Students were urged to complete the requirements in grammar and phonetics during the summer at Middlebury. Those who did not reach the required competence took composition with Isabel García Lorca or oral expression with Elisa de Menéndez Pidal. Zamora Vicente taught Spanish Language; Fernández Ramírez taught Morphology and Syntax. In literature, Bousoño gave his famous Analysis of

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Poetry; Alberto Sánchez lectured on Quijote; Alonso Zamora on Lope de Vega; Julián Marías on the 18th Century and Romanticism; Sánchez Barba on Ibero-America; José Luis Cano on Contemporary Poetry; Carmen Bravo-Villasante on Galdos; Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal on Medieval Literature. In general culture, Bousoño continued his Introduction to Spain; Terán gave History and Geography; La Fuente Ferrari gave an Introduction to Spanish Art. With a few variations, this excellent curriculum was still the basic pattern in 1970-71.

Dr. Joaquín Gimeno of California-Riverside, member of the Middlebury summer faculty since 1956, directed the school in the second semester of 1962-63 and the first semester of 1963-64, followed by Dr. Francisco García Lorca, then Director of our Spanish School. Their wisdom and experience aided greatly in establishing the new curriculum. Director of Studies for 1964-65 was Luke Nolfi of the Brighton-Rochester N.Y. Schools; M.A. Middlebury; and in charge of courses in methods of teaching at our Spanish School since 1954.

In the first semester of 1964-65, I personally directed the School in Paris, and took advantage of the chance to visit again the School in Madrid as well as those in Mainz and Florence, recently begun. Mrs. Freeman and I flew to Madrid in January 1965 and spent a week familiarizing ourselves with all aspects of the school's activity. Meetings with faculty members and students enabled me to help Professor Nolfi find answers to various questions that had arisen—course requirements, transfer of credits, Spanish contacts, job placement. The atmosphere in the group was excellent. I was struck by the rapid increase in American study programs: New York University with 170 heterogeneous undergraduates and graduates; the large Vanderbilt and California programs; new small and better selected groups from Mary Baldwin and Smith. I had pleasant meetings with the heads of all these groups.

Particularly useful were three meetings with Dr. Ramón Bela of the Instituto de Cultura Hispánica. Dynamic and charming, he made it clear that he wished to bring Middlebury back into the fold at the University, along with New York University and Vanderbilt. Their contracts gave the University the monopoly of providing all instruction, offices, classrooms, at $350 per student. In a frank and smiling conversation, I explained that Middlebury could not agree to such an arrangement, partly because of our agreement with the I.I.G.S., and partly because we had lost confidence in the University's ability to keep its promises, after several years' trial. If my reasons needed further demonstration, a student strike closed the University in March for a long time, making N.Y.U. and Vanderbilt quite unhappy.

Parallel to the increasing enrollments in our summer schools, the Schools Abroad showed even greater proportionate gains, and the School in Madrid often led the list. In 1963-64 it had 71 students, rising to 80 in 1967-68, and to its high point of 83 in 1968-69; larger in all three years than the School in Paris. The wave of veterans had passed; women outnumbered the men, sometimes twice as many. Occasionally we had a Fulbright scholar. West Point often sent us two or three men. The N.D.E.A. provided a small amount of loan funds.

Our new independence from the University was expensive. Our rent at Miguel Angel 8 increased drastically, to $4100 in 1969-70, since we were using many more classrooms. We were hiring our own professors, at current academic rates, rather than paying nominal fees to the University. More and better prepared students expected a more diversified curriculum. We increased our offerings to fifteen courses each semester. We engaged the highest possible quality of instruction, and we had to pay for it. Living costs increased rapidly in Spain, more than 30% in four years. Some of our teachers were unhappy that we did not increase their salaries more than we did. Our tuition went to $700, then to $900 in 1970-71; but it still did no more than balance our operating budget.

For our Directors of Studies we were fortunate to be able to call on people familiar with Middlebury and even with the School in Madrid: Dr. Manuel Alvarez Morales for 1965-66; Dr. Rafael Osuna of the Middlebury Spanish Department for 1966-67; Mrs. Catherine Centeno for 1968-69; Luke Nolfi for 1969-70. Dean Guarnaccia returned to Madrid for the year 1967-68, just prior to his resignation as Dean of the Spanish School. He had carried the full detail of the administration of the School in Spain since its beginning in 1951. His dependable and efficient cooperation were of great value to me. We had continuing reason to be glad we were entirely independent of the University. Every year, especially in 1968-69, there were strikes and political disturbances at the University; instruction was largely disrupted, and it was closed for long periods. The experience, wisdom and tact of our directors kept our School on an even keel, and gave our students an enlightening and satisfying year.

Some problems remained. Some of our professors still retained much of the typical Spanish attitude of independence toward their courses and their students. There was too much absenteeism, encouraging a similar laxness among the students. Too often, term papers and written exercises were either not handed back, or were returned without correction or comment, giving the student no evidence that they had been read, and no help in improving his work. Lectures were sometimes only a repetition of the professor's book. We were not getting from everyone the personal availability to students for correction and guidance which we needed in an American program. The final grades returned to Middlebury were far too high, a very large percentage of A's. Spanish professors tended to give Americans a good grade merely "for effort", and were loath to flunk a student who merely sat in class regularly. Our professors were without exception scholarly and charming, but we did have difficulty in teaching some of them how we wanted our group taught.

New authority was coming on the scene. In March 1970, I asked Dr. Roger M. Peel to go to Madrid in May, to study the whole situation—faculty, courses, office, finances—and to recommend a thorough overhauling of the program. Newly appointed Associate Professor at Middlebury after his Ph.D. and excellent experience at Yale, he was named Dean of the Spanish Summer School in 1970. Under the authority of Director André Paquette, he shuttled back and forth between Middlebury and Madrid during the year 1970-71, assisted and on occasion replaced by Miss Nora Wright, A.B., M.A. Middlebury, then Executive Secretary of the Spanish School. Dr. Peel's expert and forthright handling greatly improved a delicate situation, and gave him rich experience for his new position as Director of all the Middlebury Language Schools.

For all its vicissitudes and problems, the Middlebury Graduate School of Spanish in Spain is by far the best program for Americans in Spain.

THE GRADUATE SCHOOLS ABROAD

The Graduate School of German in Germany, 1959 –

Dr. Werner Neuse and Dr. Salvatore Castiglione watched the success of the Schools in France and Spain with keen interest and understandable envy. When could we start schools on the same plan in Germany and Italy? Pointed questions became serious conversations, especially in the summer of 1956. I was as eager as they to expand our rôle abroad, but I explained that I was waiting to be satisfied on three points: a sufficient student enrollment in the summer school to support a viable group abroad; enough qualified teachers familiar with Middlebury to direct the group; and funds to defray the initial cost of establishing a school abroad.

The early 1950's had not seemed propitious. Only 42 students had attended the German School in 1953, as the military and economic crises weighed on the world. But the trend was upward, and enrollments increased—to 60 in 1955, 79 in 1956, and swelled to 106 in 1957. This strong showing, and the growing national interest in modern languages, stimulated by the F.L.P. and the N.D.E.A., justified constructive planning. Questionnaires were distributed in the German School in the summers of 1956 and 1957; each time more than a dozen students indicated positive interest. Other inquiries showed that there were enough qualified members of our summer faculty interested in directing a school in Germany. Our chances of getting a grant for the initial expenses seemed slim, but I felt that a modest sum for this purpose could legitimately be drawn from the considerable profits of the Schools Abroad.

Contacts between our German School and officials in Germany had been expanding rapidly; the reputation and significance of our school was becoming better known. Dr. Neuse had spent his semester's leave in Germany in 1955-56; and had established good relations with Dr. Trütschler, the Director of the Cultural Division of the German Foreign Office in Bonn, and with other administrators. Dr. Gerhard Storz, Vice President of the Language Section of the German Academy for Language and Literature, became our Visiting Professor in 1956. From then on, the traveling expenses of our Visiting Professor were paid by the German Government. Dr. Storz was most influential in later negotiations. Dr. Neuse's work at Middlebury was officially recognized by the award of the Merit Cross First Class of the Federal Republic and the Goethe Medal in Silver.

Study in Germany was becoming popular. Wayne State University had established its Junior Year Abroad in Munich as early as 1953. Lake Erie College started a Junior Year in Goettingen; Heidelberg College in Ohio sent a group to Heidelberg; and Dartmouth a group to Freiburg. Stanford University opened a center for its undergraduates near Stuttgart. This was just the beginning, for by 1963 there were more than twenty American academic-year study groups in Germany. None of them, however, offered an organized *graduate* program leading to a Master's degree. Ten students from our 1957 German Summer School went to Germany to study that autumn. It was time for Middlebury to take the lead in Germany.

Mrs. Eloise Neuse had visited Germany in 1957 and had made a careful study of the situation in many of the smaller universities. The larger ones were out of the question. Munich, Heidelberg and Bonn were experiencing such crowding in the classes and such a shortage of student housing that the authorities were moving to set limits on enrollments. She examined particularly the suitability of places like Tübingen, Freiburg, Erlangen, and Frankfurt. Of them all, the Johannes Gutenberg-Universität in Mainz seemed for many reasons the best adapted to our purposes.

In March 1958, Dr. Neuse wrote to me urging further consideration of a Graduate School in Germany. Feeling that the preliminaries had been done and that the time was ripe, I requested him to proceed to a detailed proposal, with specific recommendations: where the School should be located, its facilities, program of studies, directors available, estimate of enrollment, and a budget. This was submitted and discussed; and on May 6 I forwarded the proposal and a covering strong recommendation of my own, to President Stratton and the Trustees. The Committee on the Language Schools considered the matter, and final approval was promptly voted in June.

In the meantime, an important diplomatic move was made in appointing as Visiting Professor for the summer of 1958 Dr. Friedrich Wilhelm Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Professor at the University of Mainz and Director of the German Institute there. He was a particularly happy choice for that summer. He was not only an outstanding scholar and a congenial personality, he also showed an unusual understanding of American students and American college practices, such as study assignments, personal conferences, examinations and grades. He was able to bring us full and official information about possible arrangements at Mainz. He became enthusiastic about the idea, and his great influence in the University was pivotal in getting us started right. He returned to Middlebury as Visiting Professor in 1961, and has long been an invaluable liaison and advisor.

Dr. Neuse went to Germany in November for three busy weeks. In Mainz, with Dr. Wentzlaff-Eggebert as host and guide, he studied the situation in detail. He was asked to appear before a meeting of about 50 members of the Senate of the University, and explain the idea of Middlebury's Graduate Schools Abroad. Copies of our bulletins, and of Neuse's own publications were examined. After his statement, there were many questions, a real "grilling." Apparently satisfied with his assurances of careful selection of students, personal supervision by a director, and high academic standards, the Senate three weeks later approved our coming. Dr. Neuse also met the Rector, the State Kultusminister, and other officials. In Bonn, he called upon officials of the Kulturabteilung (Cultural Division); the Deutsche Akademische Austauschdienst (Academic Exchange Service) D.A.A.D.; and the Fulbright Commission; endeavoring to arrange Dankstipendien, scholarships, and Fulbright grants.

His full report was most informative and provided the basis for active publicity during the winter. A Preliminary Announcement had already been published in September, pre-guessing the arrangements most accurately. In May 1959, the regular Bulletin of the Graduate Schools Abroad added "Das Deutsche in Deutschland" to the other two schools, with a tiny picture of the Dom, the Cathedral of Mainz, which became through the years the cover design for our school there.

The German Summer School of 1959 was epoch-making. The enrollment soared an extraordinary 41% to a total of 155. Our earlier fears that a school in Germany might be subtracted from the summer enrollment were reversed by the fact that, as for the French and Spanish, the publicity and interest about our School Abroad attracted even more students than those we sent abroad. There is no question that the contacts and the prestige of our Schools Abroad have strengthened our summer schools.

The Visiting Professor, sent by the Cultural Division, was Dr. Lutz Röhrich, Professor at the University of Mainz, and Dozent for Philology and Folklore. The prospective Mainz students were required to take the Volkskunde Seminar with him. They were thus met in Mainz by two professors familiar with Middlebury and its methods, and with American student psychology. Our growing contacts with Germany were illustrated by the fact that in the summer school of 1959, there were 18 students going to Mainz, 17 others going to Germany to study, and 76 who had already been in Germany. During the summer, three orientation meetings were held for the students interested in Mainz, to explain the organization of a German university and its courses, Middlebury's degree

JOHANNES
GUTENBERG

Monument to Johannes Gutenberg on the grounds of the University of Mainz, with (left) Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Director of the German Institute of Mainz, and (right) Werner Neuse requirements, student housing and finances. I shared in the meetings to confirm the official position and support of the College.

The first session of the Middlebury Graduate School of German in Germany opened on October 15, 1959 at the Johannes Gutenberg-Universität in Mainz. Neuse was the resident Studienleiter for the first semester, on leave from his duties at Middlebury. His wife, Mrs. Eloise Neuse, Lecturer at Middlebury College, took over the direction of the group in the second or "summer" semester. Her visit to Mainz in 1957 had familiarized her with the situation, and she gave the school effective supervision.

The University, founded in 1476 as an expression of the Renaissance in Germany, had closed with the collapse of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806. It was reopened in 1945 by the French when the Palatinate became part of the French zone of occupation. Some military buildings were used, and new ones were built around a sort of campus near the edge of the city. It is, like all German universities, a State University; its budget is voted by the Diet of Rhineland-Pfalz. It had about 4500 students. It was not overcrowded; there was ample lecture hall and library space. Contact between professor and student was possible, unlike the situation in Paris and Madrid. Mainz, a city of 125,000 at that time, is centrally located in the lovely valley of the Rhine, not far from major cities and cultural centers.

The purpose of the School in Mainz was the same as for the Schools in Paris and Madrid: to give American graduate students proper guidance through the maze of a foreign university, and a coordinated program of studies leading to an American Master's degree. The basic requirements were the same as in the other schools. In some respects, the task was simpler in Mainz. The major source of instruction was the section of the University called the Deutsche Institut. It provided lecture courses, pro-seminars and seminars on German language, literature, phonetics, philology and folklore by excellent professors. Professor Wentzlaff-Eggebert, the Director, taught modern literature. Others in literature were Professors Requadt, Flemming, Lockemann, Schröder. Linguistics and the history of the language were given by Professor Bischoff. Folklore and general culture were the field of Professor Röhrich. Specific subjects changed from year to year.

In general, the lecture courses (Vorlesungen) were of the European type, comparatively large classes with little guidance from the professor. Students had to learn to work on their own. More advanced were the Pro-seminare and Seminare, permitting a limited amount of contact with the professor. In order to control and evaluate his work, every Middlebury student was required to take in each semester at least one pro-seminar or seminar, and write a report. For the second or "summer" semester, the report had to be a more ambitious long paper, a "Magisterarbeit" or Master's thesis, on a topic chosen in consultation with the teacher and the Middlebury Studienleiter. It could be a continuation of the "winter" semester paper. For many years, Dr. Neuse read all these theses personally in Middlebury, after a preliminary reading by the professor in Mainz.

The German university calendar was later than in Paris or Madrid, but more punctual. Our students reported on October 15 for orientation and getting settled. Classes began on November 1, and the "winter" semester lasted until the end of February. There was then a period of two months vacation in March and April. The "summer" semester ran from May to the end of July. Final examinations in Germany are not given at the end of each separate course, but Middlebury arranged for special examinations, usually oral, given by the professor or his "Assistent." Students were warned that the long March-April vacation should not all be spent on pleasure or travel, as this was the time designated for independent study and research on the thesis. Provident students handed in the thesis by the end of May. Procrastinators found the end of July coming too soon. The lateness of the academic year often prevented some of our group from receiving their diplomas at the current August Commencement at Middlebury.

Other graduate instruction was available at the Faculty of Philosophy, chiefly in philosophy, history, geography, music, and art. Professor Diemer, a skillful teacher of philosophy, has often come to Middlebury. Professor Panzer, Director of the Geographic Institute, gave a useful course. Offerings changed frequently, and the list of courses was not available before October. A branch of the University called the Dolmetscherinstitut, or Interpreters' School, was located at Germersheim, but because of the distance, two hours away by train, few students used it. There were also courses for foreigners at the University but no Middlebury credit was allowed for them. Occasionally a student weak in language preparation found them, or one of the nearby Goethe Institutes, helpful.

The location of the Middlebury headquarters presented a problem. Office space was difficult to find, since much of the city had been destroyed in the war. There was no vacant room at the University or near the campus. After much searching, Neuse rented at Rheinstrasse 42 an apartment on the third floor of a commercial-residential building near the Rhine and the Dom, with good communications, but twelve minutes by bus from the University. It has a fine large room for an office and meetings, a smaller room for the secretary, and a bedroom-kitchen-bath for the resident Director. After 15 years, nothing better has been found. By its location, it cannot be a center for the group; they have to make a special trip to go there. At times, the University has permitted the Studienleiter to use temporarily a room at the University for student interviews. Meetings and group meals have often been held at the University. Library facilities for reference and study are good and not too crowded at the Deutsche Institute.

As a mature adult, each Middlebury student was responsible for his own board and room, but the Studienleiter gave all possible assistance. The University granted us a few rooms at the Alte Studentenheim, a dormitory for men and women on the old quadrangle, and at the Mainzer Kolleg, two new university dormitories a little farther away. Most of our students had to live with private families, at greater expense. There was a real shortage of good places. Some had to travel quite a distance from the suburbs, even from Wiesbaden across the river, but bus transportation was good. They took their meals at various places: at the University Mensa for very cheap meals at two price levels; at the University Taberna for better meals at reasonable prices; or at the Konditoreien and cafés in the city. Social contacts with German students were difficult, but the Director arranged frequent gatherings to which German students were invited: an excursion on the Rhine, a discussion in the Club Room of the University, a hike in the Taunus, or a wine-tasting sponsored by Prof. Diemer.

The German School in Mainz, like the other Middlebury Schools Abroad, operated on a balanced budget, and usually showed a considerable profit. The account for 1962-63 may be considered fairly stabilized and typical. Forty students were enrolled, paying tuition of $500 each, for an income of $20,000. The salary of the Studienleiter was $5000. Instruction, including tuition at the University, special fees, examinations, amounted to about $3000. Office rent at Rheinstrasse was $1200. Secretarial help, office, social activities, and other operating expense in Mainz came to about $2000. Bulletins, publicity, and other costs at Middlebury added another $2000. Actual out-of-pocket expenses for that year were therefore about $13,200.

For several years, Middlebury students had been receiving from the German Government, through the D.A.A.D. or Exchange Service, three scholarships of about $1400 each, and from the Foreign Student Office of the University, another of the same amount. It was implied and hoped that Middlebury College could reciprocate with a tuition scholarship at the College for a deserving German student. The financial position of a private institution is of course different from that of a state institution, but other American colleges were responding, and the request seemed modest. After much discussion, Neuse was permitted to include the sum of $2700 in the School's budget; and we began receiving a German student, who for several years added much to the atmosphere of the German Department in the winter college. Even this expense still allowed a revolving loan fund.

The Middlebury Graduate School in Mainz had thus fitted readily into the original theoretical concept. It gave less trouble than either the French or the Spanish models. The university situation was much simpler and more efficient than in Paris. It did not have to contend with the political activism and interference in Madrid. It received strong and effective support from the academic leaders. Its instructional program remained more stable, requiring fewer adaptations to changing circumstances. Contrary to our initial worries, the enrollment held remarkably steady, better than the French or Spanish. After the first two years, the enrollment in Mainz varied from a low of 31 to a high of 46, rising and falling several times in the decade, with an overall average of 38. Expenses rose in recent years, as did the tuition, but budget-making was simpler than in the other schools.

Men at first composed a high proportion of the students, as indeed men have always done in the German and Russian Schools. Beginning in the first year with 14 men to 13 women, they declined to 16 against 24 women in 1962; then rose again to 17 against 14 women in 1964, and 23 men to 17 women in 1965. After that the decline was sudden, ten men to 34 women the following year, and an average of about half as many men as women in recent years. Usually three students held D.A.A.D. scholarships, one from the University, three Fulbright grants (there were eight in 1963-64). Occasionally there were men on the G.I. Bill, Rotary Club Fellows, and West Pointers.

Many eminent teachers held the post of Studienleiter: in 1960-61, Professor

Joachim Seyppel of Bryn Mawr; in 1961-62, Professor Abram Friesen of United College in Winnipeg. Professor Werner Haas, Ph.D. Univ. of Graz, member of our summer faculty since 1960, and later Assistant Director, took charge in 1962-63. Dr. Neuse returned to Mainz in the first semester of 1963-64; and was succeeded in the second semester by his son-in-law Professor Richard Whitcomb of Lawrence College in Wisconsin. Mrs. Eloise Neuse, who had aided her husband so much in the establishment of the school, died in October 1962. The Studienleiter in 1964-65 was John S. Roberts, M.A. Middlebury and Lecturer at Middlebury, Acting Chairman of the Department during Neuse's absence. I visited him and inspected the school in Mainz during my semester in Paris.

The growth of the University was beginning to cause problems for us. Its enrollment had risen to 8000, of whom 900 were foreigners. The faculty of the Deutsche Institut was small, and seemed to be limited by the conservatism of the titular professors who resisted the addition of new young professors. In 1964, for various reasons, there were only four full professors in the Deutsche Institut lecturing for some 800 students. The insufficiency of course choices and the crowding of classes disturbed us. Prof. Wentzlaff-Eggebert talked of a possibility of transferring our group to a new university being started at Constanz; but its curriculum was oriented differently, and nothing came of the idea. The situation was finally remedied by the addition of new professors—Krummacher, Hell, Kühl, Müller, Hillebrand; and also by the appointment of several excellent Assistenten, whom Middlebury engaged for extra tutorial work.

For 1965-66 Prof. Else Fleissner of Wells College had accepted the appointment at Mainz, but was unable to go. Mrs. Ingrid Röhrich, wife of Prof. Röhrich, kindly took over on short notice, and directed the large group of 40 with skill and charm. She had done advanced study at Tübingen, and had come to Middlebury twice. We called upon Prof. Kurt Liedtke of San Francisco State for the summer semester. Neuse flew to Mainz in October to assist Mrs. Röhrich with the orientation of students, and again in late April to aid in the transfer of authority to Dr. Liedtke. At the same time, Dr. Thomas Huber, appointed Studienleiter for the following year, came to Mainz from Bergen Norway where he was lecturing, to profit by the four-way exchange of instructions and information.

The German School was reaching the end of an era. Werner Neuse became Emeritus in June 1966. In 1965 the German Government had promoted him to the Grand Cross of the Order of Merit. The University of Mainz named him "Ehrenbürger" or Honorary Burgess, for distinguished service to the University. He directed the German Summer School in 1966 and 1967, but he was not in Middlebury during the academic year 1966-67. He had carried all the burden of administration, selection of students, records and publicity for the School in Mainz since its beginning in 1959, in full cooperation with me on matters of policy. In September 1966, he handed that task over to others, at first to Professor Kimberly Sparks, the new Chairman of the German Department, and to the Executive Secretary Miss Monika Sutter.

President Armstrong, in reconstituting the German Department, wished to coordinate the School in Mainz closely with it. For this purpose, he appointed four teachers in the winter department, one of whom in rotation each year would be the Studienleiter in Mainz. They were Kimberly Sparks, Thomas Huber, Van Horn Vail, all three Ph.D. from Princeton; and Miss Beverly Driver, Ph.D. Indiana University. They would give the School in Mainz close liaison with Middlebury, and a continuity of direction and control through their shared experience.

Before actually teaching at Middlebury, Professor Thomas Huber, who had taught at the University of Vermont, lectured at Bergen and met with Dr. Neuse at Mainz in October 1965. He was Studienleiter for the year 1966-67. During the spring, he toured West Germany for the Institute of International Education, making an evaluation of American undergraduate study at German universities, a continuation of the evaluation I had made for the I.I.E. in 1964. He returned to Mainz in 1969-70, and has since been named Dean of the German School, and in charge of all administration at Middlebury of the School in Mainz. Professor Van Horn Vail succeeded Huber in 1967-68, and was again in charge at Mainz in 1970-71. Professor Kimberly Sparks was Studienleiter in 1968-69. College duties required his presence on the Middlebury campus during a large part of the first semester, however; and he was represented in Mainz by a "deputy", Mr. Dieter Kafitz, an Assistent at the University. Miss Driver's turn came in 1971-72.

Few basic changes have occurred in the Graduate School in Mainz in the past few years. The number and breadth of course offerings have been increased. More stress has been laid upon the function of the Assistenten or tutors, especially engaged to give personal guidance to the students and to judge their performance. A seminar paper is required in each semester, and read by the tutor. It is not expected to be as long or as ambitious as the former Magisterarbeit. Intensive search was made for new headquarters, both at the University and outside. Nothing more satisfactory was found, so the present office at Rheinstrasse 42 was redecorated and refurnished. It is now adequate for the size of the student group. The enrollment had declined, but it bottomed out at 28 in 1970-71. In 1969-70 with 31 students and the tuition at $800, the school had no difficulty in balancing its budget. Serious inflation both here and in Germany has created problems since that time.

The Middlebury College Graduate School in Mainz, in part through the wise and energetic administration of Dr. Werner Neuse, and in part through the efficient cooperation of the small Johannes Gutenberg-Universität, has most nearly approximated the ideal concept of an American graduate school abroad, which I had in mind back in 1948.

THE GRADUATE SCHOOLS ABROAD

The Graduate School of Italian in Italy, 1960 –

A Middlebury Graduate School in Italy could be delayed no longer. Dr. Salvatore Castiglione had shared in the discussions with Dr. Neuse and me in the summer of 1956. The German School was in the process of satisfying my hesitations on the matters of enrollment, continuity of directors, and finances. Dr. Castiglione was confident that the Italian School could do the same. Enrollments had been rising strongly, 66 in the 25th Anniversary summer of 1956; 58 in 1958; and 65 in 1959. Contacts with Italy, among both faculty and students, were numerous. Of the 20 teachers of Italian granted Fulbright awards for a summer seminar in Italy in 1958, eight had been students at Middlebury. The Italian Government had granted us summer scholarships.

Dr. Castiglione renewed his campaign by a persuasive letter of March 4, 1958, fearing that some other college would seize the initiative. I held him off for a year, wishing to give the German project in Mainz first and full attention. Then in August of 1959, after we had an encouraging meeting with President Stratton, he submitted a detailed proposal for a Graduate School in Italy, patterned after our other schools abroad, and with a budget based on 15 students. He pointed out that no college in the United States yet offered such a program leading to the M.A. in Italian; and that the increasing demand for teachers of Italian made this an opportune moment. He recommended that the school be located at the University of Florence, where three of the Facoltà offered a wide variety of courses adapted to the needs of our students. Florence was the logical place, since it is famous as a center of culture, with many important museums, art galleries, libraries, and musical events. He felt that the costs would be low in Florence, and housing in private families not too difficult to obtain. He offered to direct the school during the initial year 1960-61.

I immediately forwarded the proposal to President Stratton with my strong endorsement. I explained that the delay had borne fruit; we had tested the reaction on the German School, and we had solved some of the problems of a location in Florence. I urged that Dr. Castiglione should go to Italy before Christmas to make the necessary final arrangements in person, the cost to be covered by the profits of the School in France.

Prompt approval by the Trustees in October set the wheels in motion. It was to be a busy year for Castiglione, as he had also been named Acting Director of the Institute of Languages and Linguistics at Georgetown. Publicity was begun immediately. An attractive folder was published in November, announcing the new school, and 3500 copies were distributed widely, often with a personal letter. It described how this first American graduate school of Italian language, literature and culture to be established in Italy would bring to its students all the advantages of study at the University of Florence, the great cultural opportunities of the beautiful city, and contact with the standard Italian pronunciation. The red lily, emblem of "Firenze", and a map of Italy adorned the cover.

Dr. Castiglione flew to Italy on November 24 for ten busy days. In Rome he saw officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and secured three scholarships of $1150 each. He talked with Miss Cipriana Scelba, in charge of Fulbright awards. In Florence, he saw the Rector of the University and several of the professors, to arrange for the use of classrooms and enrollment in the three Facoltà. The U.S. Consulate assisted with information on student housing.

Wide publicity attended Middlebury's initiative. Even the European edition of the *Stars and Stripes* printed a news item about it. In May 1960, the Bulletin of the Graduate Schools Abroad carried four seals on the cover, with flags on the four maps of France, Germany, Italy and Spain. Under the flag of Firenze were tiny drawings of the Palazzo della Signoria and the Duomo beyond. The picture of the Palazzo Vecchio (della Signoria) became the symbol of the Middlebury school on the cover of all subsequent bulletins. The general plan of the four schools was described in the first section; then each school had its separate section for the details of its organization, program of studies, information on housing, cultural contacts, and correspondence. Inquiries for the School in Italy generally came to the office in Middlebury, but all applications were screened and admissions decided by Dr. Castiglione in Washington. Financial aids were generous: Fulbright scholarships, Italian Government scholarships, and a special scholarship of $500, gift of Dr. Nicholas Locascio.

The summer session of 1960 reflected the excitement of the new school. Ten students were enrolled: two men and eight women. Orientation meetings for them included others hoping to go in later years. All were urged to satisfy the phonetics requirement at Middlebury, as no phonetics course was available in Florence. The Visiting Professor Giulio Vallese was especially helpful with advice on universities and life in Italy. Best of all, Dr. Pierina Castiglione's home is in Florence. Indeed it seemed almost as if she were taking the students home with her. She was ready to continue as Director of Studies if Dr. Castiglione had not been able to obtain leave from Georgetown for the whole year. As it worked out, the school enjoyed the invaluable direction, guidance, and interest of both for the entire year.

The first session of the Middlebury Graduate School of Italian in Italy opened October 15, 1960. Salvatore Castiglione, as Direttore di Studi welcomed the ten students in a little classroom in the Facoltà di Scienze Politiche at Via Laura 48. We would have preferred headquarters at the Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, but that faculty was in the process of moving to a new location, and the unattractive old building had no space for us. Negotiations with Professor Maranini, Preside of the Facoltà di Scienze Politiche, had secured the assignment of a classroom and an office there, on condition that all our students take at least one course in that Facoltà. That building was modern; the classroom, though shared with other classes, was adequate. The office was cold and dark. Dr. Castiglione used his own apartment on Lungarno Vespucci as an office, and often for meetings.

Classes do not really get underway at the University until some time after November 4, an Italian holiday; usually nearer mid-November. There was thus more time than needed for orientation. Frequent meetings of the group gave students information on housing, the program of courses, warned them of the differences in the Italian university system. Most of the ten lived with private families. Dr. Castiglione began a course in stylistics which he taught personally through the year, and which became a required part of the Middlebury curriculum. In free time, he arranged excursions around Florence, its libraries and museums. There was a trip to Bologna to see the Etruscan town of Spina exhibit, a visit to a typical fair at nearby Impruneta, an outing in the Chianti region to see the grape harvest.

The University classes finally settled down to a routine late in November. Our students were permitted to visit several courses before making their final selection. A wide range was open to them in the three Facoltà, and they were urged to choose a balanced program. By agreement they all took one course, usually History of Italy, in the Facoltà di Scienze Politiche. The Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia offered many possibilities, though some were too advanced for our students. Among the more popular were Prof. Ragionieri's Risorgimento, Prof. Migliorini's History of the Italian Language, Prof. Binni's Literature. Prof. Devoto's Glottologia was difficult for them. The Facoltà di Magistero is the teacher-training division. The students found that it was not less difficult. It had the advantage of having smaller classes than in the other two faculties; and the courses were not as highly specialized. Prof. Ramat's Language and Literature was popular, even though he had the reputation of flunking half his class. Our students who took the course stood up well. Prof. Sinibaldi's Medieval and Modern Art, and Prof. Nencioni's Historical Grammar were highly regarded.

The Middlebury students soon found that although the classes started late, much was expected of them, and indeed, they had to make up for lost time. They were generally less well prepared than their Italian counterparts, both in the language and in the subject matter. It was a challenge to keep pace with them. A basic duty of the Direttore di Studi was to get from the professor a clear outline of the work expected in a course, and the material to be covered in the final examination. Unlike the universities in France and Spain, each course has a final examination, usually oral, a rather traumatic experience. Our first group fared well; eight completed the M.A. in June, one a year later; only one failed.

Study conditions were generally more favorable than in France and Spain. The classes were less crowded, there was study space in the libraries. As everywhere in Europe, there was little contact between professor and student; but the group was small and easily guided by the two Castigliones. Social contacts were fruitful. A reception was held in December, attended by some 75 persons, including the Acting Rector. On Thanksgiving Day, a Middlebury reunion dinner was held, gathering 28 Midd alumni. During the year, several parties were held in the home of the Castigliones, giving our group a chance to meet Italians of their own age and interests. Through the Castigliones' many contacts with the academic and cultural world of Florence, the Middlebury School rapidly became known as a high-class institution.

From the financial point of view, we were of course disappointed that we did not reach the estimated enrollment of 15. Fees in Florence were less, however; secretarial expenses in Middlebury and Florence were almost nil; publicity was shared with the other three schools. In the final balance, the $5000 income from the ten students covered all the net operating expenses except for about $500, the cost of the special early publicity. The following year, with 13 students, we about broke even; and in 1962-63 with 16 students, the school was already showing a margin of profit.

After the pioneering year, few people could have taken over as Direttore di Studi for 1961-62 more ably than Professor Valentine Giamatti of Mount Holyoke. Ph.D. Harvard, Dottore in Lettere from Florence, he had been Visiting Professor and teacher at Middlebury. Energetic and a warm personality, he understood Middlebury's students and its academic ideals; he was also completely at home in Florence. He took a devoted personal interest in the five men and eight women of his group. His wife was a helpful hostess in their home in Florence.

Under his direction, the orientation program of October-November was amplified. Dr. Rita Bernardi, who had teaching experience in Italy and in the United States, was engaged to give the Stylistics course. Thereafter required of all students, it was very useful also in preparing students to write their course reports.

Our arrangement for classroom and office at the Facoltà di Scienze Politiche proved quite unsatisfactory; and, faced with a demand for a doubled rent, we cancelled the agreement, and authorized Dr. Giamatti to rent the use of a classroom from the Facoltà di Lettere, through the kindness of Dr. Archi, the Preside. We had to share it with the Smith Junior Year group, but scheduling was simple. For several years, our School's address was at the Facoltà di Lettere, Piazza San Marco. Dr. Giamatti and later directors used their own home as their office. His skillful handling of this delicate situation was much appreciated.

Further progress was made in bringing our students into closer contact with their teachers and with the cultural life of Florence. Special emphasis was given to certain courses in which, besides the formal lectures, there were "esercitazioni" or seminars devoted to oral discussions by students, led by an Assistente. Preceptors also helped our students to prepare for the final oral examinations. The Middlebury Direttore secured museum passes for the students; and paid the annual membership fees to the Lyceum, so that they could attend its rich program of concerts and lectures. They were regularly informed about other cultural series: the Libera Cattedra di Civiltà Fiorentina, the Leonardo Society, the Lectura Dantis, and the Maggio Musicale festival. Students found the meals at the University "mensa" reasonable, and a good place to meet other students, Italians and other foreigners.

Mrs. Pierina Castiglione kindly accepted the post as Direttore for the first semester of 1962-63, filling the place of an appointee who had to withdraw. She had been teaching in Mount Holyoke the previous year, replacing Dr. Giamatti, and would have preferred to return to Washington. Florence was also home to her, however; her father and mother still lived there. She lived with them and used their home as her office. She was completely familiar with the

University, as she had earned her degree of Dottore in Lettere there in 1930.

For the second semester, a brilliant new couple was added to the Middlebury family, Professor and Mrs. Giacomo Devoto. Mrs. Pierina Castiglione had studied in his classes, and was well acquainted with them as leaders in the cultural and social life of Florence. Mrs. Olga Rossi Devoto, Dottore in Lettere from the University of Pavia, had been president of the Literary Section of the Lyceum of Florence for ten years. She had taught Fulbright grantees at Perugia, and was then Director of Studies of the Istituto Culturale at the Villa Mercede in Florence. Mrs. Castiglione succeeded in persuading Mrs. Devoto to replace her as our Direttore for the second semester. It was an inspired thought and a most fortunate appointment. Mrs. Devoto was an excellent administrator, intelligent, accurate, understanding of American students and knowledgeable about their problems, firm in representing Middlebury's requirements. Her position in Florence enabled her to inform and advise our students most helpfully, and to deal advantageously with the University authorities.

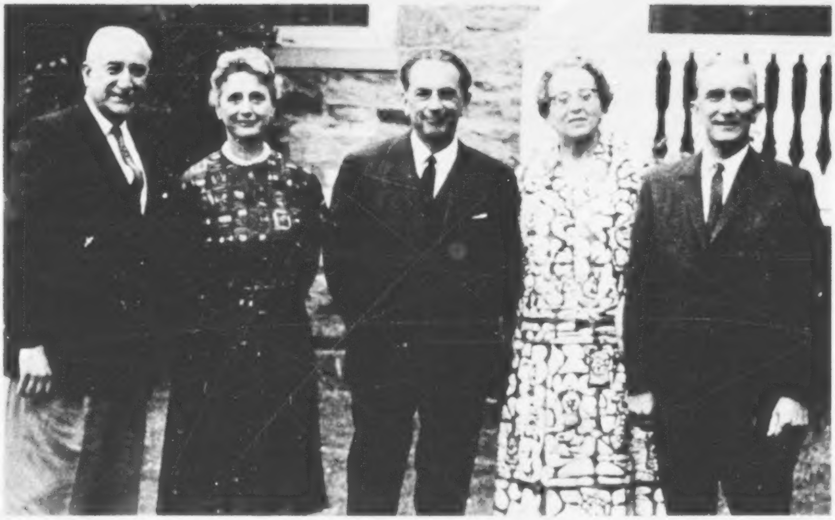
Mrs. Devoto must have liked working with our school and with the Castigliones, for she directed it for six full years thereafter. The Devotos came to Middlebury in the summer of 1963, he as Visiting Professor in the field of linguistics; she taught two courses. They became well acquainted with the Middlebury idea, and with the 15 students she was to direct in the following year.

The year 1964-65 was unusual in several respects. First of all, Mrs. Pierina Castiglione returned to Florence as Direttore di Studi for the full year. Her husband was with her as Visiting Director of the Language Program of the Syracuse University Semester in Florence. Officially he had no responsibility for our Middlebury program; I suspect that unofficially his heart was with Middlebury. They had a little apartment on the Piazza Savonarola, where Middlebury students often enjoyed hospitality and friendship. The group numbered 25, 5 men and 20 women, more than doubling the early enrollment. They came from 18 different colleges. Three held the Government scholarships, one the Locascio scholarship, and one from Mount Holyoke. With the tuition increased to $600, the balance sheet showed an operating profit of $5000.

In order to make the October-November orientation period more valuable, Professor Giuliano Innamorati, a brilliant young Assistente, was engaged to give a full-fledged course in the history of Italian literature, for credit, required of all students, during that period. He was so successful that he was appointed Visiting Professor in the summer school here in 1965. He continued giving the orientation course for several years, popular with the students, and helpful in initiating them into the University.

Our search for better headquarters resulted in a slight improvement. In the spring of 1964, we were permitted to move into a better building which the Facoltà di Lettere had taken over from the Facoltà di Architettura. There we rented a good classroom, still shared with Smith; and used it for our group meetings as well. For a tiny office upstairs, Mrs. Castiglione bought second-hand from the USIS some furniture—table, lamp, chair, file, and typewriter. The entrance was on the Via degli Alfani 37, which became our address. The rent remained the same, about $200 a year.

In January, while directing the School in Paris, Mrs. Freeman and I visited



Directors and friends of the Graduate School of Italian in Italy. l-r: Dr. Locascio, Mrs. Castiglione, Dr. Devoto, Mrs. Devoto, Dr. Castiglione

Florence. The Castigliones kindly arranged a gathering at their home, at which we met with the Devotos, the Innamoratis, Miss Bernardi, and other teachers. I talked with the students at Via degli Alfani, and called on the Rector and other University officials. We were graciously entertained by the Devotos. Later in Rome I had a rewarding interview with Miss Scelba of the Fulbright Commission, and with members of the U.S. Embassy. These talks convinced me that the Middlebury School in Italy was solidly grounded, and had the confidence of the officials concerned.

For the next four years, the Graduate School in Florence was fortunate to have the wise and decisive leadership of Mrs. Devoto, and the continuity which she assured. The year 1965-66 passed serenely. To further strengthen the orientation period, Professor Ragionieri was added to lecture on literature. The enrollment dropped to 13 for unexplained reasons, but rebounded the next year, and averaged 23 every year for the following eight years, with a high of 28 in 1968-69.

But disaster struck Florence on November 4, 1966. Torrential rains triggered a flood on the Arno, which buried parts of the city to the second-story windows, especially in the University, Library and Museum section. Basement and first-floor rooms were filled with water and mud, ruining priceless collections, works of art, and records. Fortunately it occurred on the holiday, classes were not in session, and there was little loss of life. Electricity and drinking water were in short supply, and communications were disrupted for several weeks. No harm came to our Middlebury students. They joined creditably in the Augean task of clean-up, laboring with buckets and shovels alongside their Italian fellow-students and the citizens of Florence. It was late in November when Mrs. Devoto was able to give the academic program some semblance of order. Doubtless our students learned far more Florentine vocabulary, psychology and folklore during those muddy days, than in classes, besides creating a bit of international goodwill.

The year 1967-68 began auspiciously. Dr. Giacomo Devoto was elected Rettore Magnifico of the University of Florence. All of us were delighted by this deserved tribute to his scholarly accomplishments. We knew that the heavy administrative burden would mean a considerable personal sacrifice. The reality was far worse than anyone could have foreseen, for in the late spring of 1968, a wave of student demonstrations, strikes and political rioting engulfed all of Europe, especially in Paris, Madrid, and Florence. Fortunately for Middlebury in Florence, as in Paris, the academic year was nearly over. Our students completed their preparation for the final examinations, which were given correctly but informally at other places than in the University buildings. Our year was disrupted minimally.

The same was not true of 1968-69. Student strikes and lockouts were frequent; and the disruption of normal life by various causes—labor strikes, postal, rail and telephone breakdowns—made the university program almost meaningless for long periods. Here the level-headed Mrs. Devoto, working resourcefully behind the scenes, saved the day for Middlebury. Many of our professors met their Middlebury students in various places outside the University, in the Lyceum or in our office, or slid "incognito" through picket lines to continue our instruction on schedule. The year was uncomfortable for everyone; but in some ways it was very informative for Americans. Our students were able to complete work worthy of the M.A. degree.

The enrollment in 1968-69 was the largest in the history of the school, 28 students, four men and 24 women. The increase in numbers as well as the chaotic condition of the university made it necessary for us to hire more instruction for classes of our own. Professors Innamorati and Ragionieri amplified the work of the orientation period. We added Mrs. Giulia Mazzuoli, Dottore in Lettere from the University of Florence. She had taught philology and glottology there for many years, and was then teaching at Pisa. She came to Middlebury in the summer of 1968. Miss Bernardi continued her successful work in stylistics.

Fortune finally smiled on our continuing search for a good central office. Mrs. Devoto heard that the Palazzo Fraschetti, a fine edifice centrally located was becoming available. In the fall of 1968, we rented a suite of rooms on the ground floor, which we furnished gradually, and used for a classroom, a lounge, a study room with the modest reference library we were accumulating, and a director's office. We were at last properly housed and self-contained, although the rental was four times the ludicrous fee we had been paying. These quarters were a godsend for the troubled year, since the university professors could go there to teach our classes without crossing student picket lines. With 28 students paying the current tuition of $700, the income of over $19,000 still exceeded all operating expenses by at least $4000.

Ever since the founding of the school in 1960, Dr. Salvatore Castiglione had longed to return to Florence as its personal head. The opportunity came in 1969-70. He had left Georgetown and come to Middlebury as Fulton Professor of Italian, and by now had earned a sabbatical leave. Mrs. Devoto yielded the reins, and he spent the year as our Direttore di Studi, accompanied by Pierina. It was a good year. The city had largely recovered from the flood, and the university from the student disturbances. Our school was well accommodated in the Palazzo Fraschetti. The well-prepared Middlebury group of 23 responded to the more stable offerings of the Facoltà di Lettere and the Facoltà di Magistero, to which some new professors had been added. Mrs. Devoto resumed as Direttore the following year. In recent years, students have tended less to live with private families. Instead, two or three hire an apartment together. They see less of Italian family life in this way, but they are freer to create their own social life, even frequently inviting Italian students to their apartment.

An interesting discussion of the grading system took place in the late 60's. Dr. Castiglione and I had the responsibility of translating the Italian passing grades (on the basis of 18 or above, out of 30) into the American passing grades for graduate credit (on the basis of 80 to 100). It was not a simple matter, since two-thirds of the grades given to our students by the Italian university professors were regularly above 25, almost half were regularly above 28, and several students received "30 e lode" (=cum laude). The Italian professors were in the habit of being indulgent to American students; and our Middlebury students were highly motivated, and performed well. A group of students complained to me that our translated scale of grading was unfair, and that we should make exact mathematical equivalents, with equal intervals for all grades on each scale. I pointed out that this would result in giving two-thirds of our students grades above 91, far too generous for the standard American graduate school scale; the Italian "30 e lode" would be translated as "100 plus." Our practice was to equate the Italian grades roughly into one-half A's or 90's, and one-half B's or 80's, which we felt was sufficiently generous. We did not adopt the system of grading on a curve. Later we raised our passing grade in Florence from 18 to 24. We had similar problems in the other schools abroad, on different scales.

One of the happiest and most noteworthy aspects of the Italian School in Italy is the continuity which it enjoyed in its Direttore di Studi, an advantage which none of our other schools abroad had. Out of 11 years, 1960 to 1971, ten were directed by three people, the two Castigliones and Mrs. Devoto. Dr. Giamatti, a close friend, had the eleventh year, 1961-62. The succession of the same directors who knew the school, the University and the city thoroughly, the accumulated experience and wisdom about what was best for the students and for Middlebury, carried this smallest of the Middlebury schools through many difficulties and obstacles, to much success.

Since 1970, Dr. Castiglione has continued to administer the Middlebury end of the school's operation. Under the direction of Mr. André Paquette, Mrs. Giulia Mazzuoli, who had been in charge of the orientation program since 1968, became Direttore di Studi for two years, 1971-73. She was followed by Miss Anna Martellone, Dottore in Lettere from Florence, formerly teaching at Smith College, and Director of the Smith Junior Year in Florence for several years. Our school moved in 1972 into even more beautiful headquarters in the old Palazzo Benivieni in the Via delle Oche 3, by far the finest facilities enjoyed by any of our Middlebury Schools Abroad. The October-November program has been strengthened. An essay or long paper is now required of every student. Enrollments have declined, as in all the schools, and costs have risen sharply, due to inflation and the devaluation of the dollar. The economic and political situation in Italy is a cloud over the future. The basic concept of Middlebury's Graduate Schools Abroad remains as valid and as viable as ever.

ENROLLMENTS IN THE GRADUATE SCHOOLS ABROAD

	French	*German*	*Italian*	*Spanish*
1949-50	45			
1950-51	56			
1951-52	42			21
1952-53	33			17
1953-54	36			30
1954-55	29			30
1955-56	53			27
1956-57	31			43
1957-58	42			40
1958-59	38			29
1959-60	46	27		41
1960-61	47	21	10	37
1961-62	50	31	13	49
1962-63	57	40	16	47
1963-64	62	46	15	71
1964-65	85	31	25	65
1965-66	69	40	13	62
1966-67	76	44	20	75
1967-68	72	41	22	80
1968-69	66	36	28	83
1969-70	99	31	23	72
1970-71	98	28	24	84
1971-72	105	33	19	69
1972-73	97	40	26	71
1973-74	68	31	22	53

Chapter 8

THE FIFTIES and SIXTIES

The French School

Vincent Guilloton, 1946 - 1962

Jean Boorsch, 1962 - 1971

For Vincent Guilloton, appointed Director of the French School in November 1946, the title was not only an indication of new authority, but also the recognition of a long period of effective service and full familiarity with the duties of the position. He had come to Middlebury first in the summer of 1932. André Morize made him Assistant Director of the French School in 1935. He returned in the summer of 1937 as Acting Director during Morize's absence on leave. From then on, he was regularly on the faculty of the French School, either as Assistant Director: in 1938, 1939, 1941, 1942, 1943 and 1946; or as Acting Director in 1940 when Morize was in France, and in 1944 and 1945 when Morize was retained at Harvard. He had participated fully in all the administrative and academic responsibilities of the school. Morize had delegated to him many of his duties. He knew intimately the goals, the philosophy, and the problems that he assumed as head of the school; and his ability to deal with them had been time-tested.

He had first made the acquaintance of Americans as a soldier in World War I. Born in 1894, he was enrolled in the French army in 1914. Wounded and awarded the Croix de Guerre, he continued in service in the artillery and saw the war to its conclusion in the great American offensives at St. Mihiel and in the Argonne. He then returned to his studies, was admitted to the École Normale Supérieure, and completed his agrégation in 1921. A year of study in London in 1920 saw him also working in the Interpreting and Translating Section of the League of Nations Secretariat. There was a memorable period at the Advisory Jurists Commission at The Hague. He came to the United States in 1921 to accept an appointment as Associate Professor of French at the University of Syracuse. There he met and married Mlle Madeleine Vromet who had been a boursière there in 1919, earned her Master of Arts degree after her licence-ès-lettres, and had returned to teach there. They moved to Smith College in 1923 and were both members of the French faculty there during all the years they taught at Middlebury.

Guilloton's academic specialization was in modern French literature and civilization. He was the author of many articles in the *French Review, Modern*

VINCENT GUILLOTON
Director of the French Summer School, 1946-1962. Member of its faculty from 1932

CLAUDE BOURCIER
Dean of the French Summer School, 1946-1972, and member of its faculty from 1936; Professor of French, Middlebury College, 1937-1975

Language Notes, Smith College Studies, and he contributed to *Collier's Encyclopedia*, and to the *Columbia Dictionary of Modern European Literature*. He was active in teachers' organizations, and was President of the Boston Chapter of the A.A.T.F. He was well-known as a lecturer, a Conférencier Général of the Alliance Française; and for three years President of the Federation of the Alliance Française in the United States. This put him in touch with many of the francophile organizations in the country, and made good publicity for Middlebury. The French Government decorated him Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur. Mme Madeleine Guilloton, affectionately known as "Mado", regularly taught two oral practice courses at Middlebury, directed the dramatics, and was the school's charming hostess, presiding at the "Caveau" and often inviting groups to come and relax at their cottage on Lake Champlain.

A new Dean was also needed in the French School, since I had rather regretfully given up that post. It was at once agreed that Claude Bourcier was eminently suited to the position. The appointment was made in November, and he was installed in an office in the Château. Like Guilloton, Claude Bourcier was a graduate of the Ecole Normale Supérieure, with the agrégation completed in 1935. He came to Middlebury in the summer of 1936, at the age of 26, after a year at the University of Maine. Following a year of military service in France, he was appointed to the French Dept. of the college in the fall of 1937, and was regularly on the summer faculty from 1938 on. As Acting Dean, he had taken over my work on short notice in the summer of 1945 and until February of

1946, while I was with the U.S. Army University at Biarritz, coincidentally Bourcier's home in France. His systematic thoroughness in administration had been amply demonstrated at that time. His interest in music was indicated by his thesis for the Diplôme d'études supérieures on the American negro spiritual. His superb talent as an actor had been witnessed in many plays. The choir, community singing, and the dramatics program of the school involved him in constant activity; yet the enormous demands of administrative detail for a school of over 350 students were faithfully executed. Another tie with Middlebury was his marriage to Miss Myra Coulter, who had been a graduate student in our classes during the winter of 1938-39.

The session of 1947, the first under the new administration, was successful in every way. As Guilloton said in his report, Morize had established a sound organization through the years, and the task of the new officers was to "maintain the high standards . . . and time-tested policies which have made the school the leader among language summer schools everywhere." This was no small task, but the school was never allowed to coast on its momentum.

The Visiting Professor, Jean Guéhenno, was one of the school's most distinguished; Inspecteur-Général de l'Éducation Nationale, and later a member of the French Academy. Active in the underground during the war, and an editor of clandestine anti-Nazi journals, his books and articles had a profound influence on French education and French youth. His course on the Evolution of French Thought was highly stimulating, and his warm generous personality made many friends.

Vincent Guilloton gave special attention to holding as many as possible of the old Morize team. Mme Lucie Gall-Bernot continued in her helpful role as Assistant to the Director. Mesdames Guilloton, Jacqueline Bertrand, Marguerite Fourel, Léontine Moussu, Mesdemoiselles Germaine Brée, Maud Rey; Miss Louise Crandall; Jean Boorsch, Marc Denkinger, Pierre Delattre, René Guiet, M. S. Pargment, Pierre Thomas, were among the "old faithfuls" who stayed with the team for many years. New or recent additions were Roger Asselineau, then at Harvard; Jean Bruneau, a young agrégé at Yale; Michel Mohrt, a brilliant young Docteur en Droit and literary critic; Miss Dorothy Dennis of Wellesley.

The general organization of the curriculum remained as Morize had designed it. Guilloton himself taught two courses—France of Yesterday and Today, and the Advanced Stylistics which he had given for several years. Bourcier continued his heavily elected course on French Civilization in a Changing World. Delattre and Mme Moussu shared the direction of the phonetics and diction courses. Beloved Pierre Thomas supervised the fifteen graded classes in oral practice with his accustomed deftness and wit. Including the auxiliary personnel in the phonetics center, bookstore and offices, the total staff numbered 43.

The enrollment was "full-house", with 361 students; 103 of them were veterans, 90 undergraduates. The faculty reported that the veterans, carefully selected, were unusually serious and motivated, much more than the pre-war student. The school used Forest, Le Château, Pearsons, Battell, Painter, and several outlying houses; the dining rooms were Le Château, Battell, and the two Forests. Far too many students had to room and eat in town. McCullough Gymnasium was the school's general auditorium, for lectures and plays. Five plays were given. Guilloton believed with Morize that these presentations were not only educational and cultural, but pedagogically an example of what the students themselves could do with their own students at home, in a more modest way. The plays always formed a conspicuous part of a summer's memories; they were also one of the school's best publicity features.

Guilloton followed Morize's high regard for the Sunday morning chapel hour. He felt that it had a useful place in the school's tradition, and he enjoyed sustaining it. His dignified readings, and Bourcier's choir of 125 voices drew a large attendance, including many students from the other schools and visitors from the town. For pure relaxation, Martial Singher, baritone at the Metropolitan and Paris Operas; Horace Britt, 'cellist in the Boston Symphony; Henri Deering, pianist, and Olga Averino, soprano, gave superb concerts for a token fee, out of sheer devotion to the school.

With a pattern of high academic quality and organizational efficiency well established, the next few summers showed sufficient variety but no major change. The enrollments held at about 365. M. and Mme Guilloton spent the first semester of 1947-48 in Paris, in charge of the Smith College Junior Year in France. He was thus able to renew close contact with social and political developments in France. In his new course, The Making of the Fourth Republic, he brought the school the benefit of his observations. He was also able to recruit new faculty members for the following years.

The Visiting Professor in 1948 was Dr. Albert Farmer, agrégé and Docteur-ès-Lettres, visiting professor at Brown and Harvard; and then at the Sorbonne. His course on Franco-British Literary Relations was both scholarly and popular. His delightful personality was appreciated by all. Maurice Coindreau, an "old faithful" under Morize, returned to offer a course on his specialty, the Contemporary French Theatre. After 1950, he remained a regular member of the faculty.

A fortunate recruit was Professor Daniel Gallois, agrégé, teaching postgraduate courses at the Lycée Condorcet in Paris. His wife, a teacher in the Lycée Molière, accompanied him. His courses on Proust and Gide, and on Modern Poetry, and her work in Explications de Textes, demonstrated the high calibre of French lycée teachers. Notable also was the addition of Mlle Jeanne Boucoiran, of the French Government Cultural Relations Office, who later became the regular second-semester Director of the Middlebury Graduate School in Paris. Fernand Marty who had come to Middlebury College in the fall of 1947, was added to the phonetics staff. His work became a significant chapter in the development of the Middlebury language laboratory. Other phoneticians were Frederick Eddy of the Univ. of Pennsylvania, and Max Bellancourt of the London School of Economics. Mlle Marie-Rose Huntzbuchler of Queens College returned to teach in the oral courses for many summers.

Mme Madeleine Guilloton, in charge of the dramatics, staged a series of fine performances of Giraudoux's *Apollon de Bellac*, Pagnol's *Topaze*, and Molière's *L'Avare*. Students always testified that they never really understood Molière until they had seen his plays on the stage. In connection with the hundredth anniversary of the Revolution of 1848, the Boston Public Library lent us for an exhibit its famous collection of lithographs by Honoré Daumier, the gift of

Albert H. Wiggin, trustee of Middlebury College.

The big news in the 1949 session was the plan for the Graduate School of French in France, and the preparations for its opening. Interest was strong during the summer and many students applied for admission. The quota of forty had been filled before the session opened. Except for four, all of them had either already satisfied the requirement of a summer in Middlebury, or else were here. A meeting was held on August 1 with a large attendance that included students who were hoping to go in later summers. Guilloton and Bourcier aided me in the instructions and explanations. Dean and Mrs. Bourcier left for France in September to direct the school during the first semester. During the second semester, the Directeur d'Études was Mlle Germaine Brée of Bryn Mawr who had been a member of our summer faculty six times in the preceding ten years. The complete coordination between summer and winter abroad was thus assured.

The 1949 Visiting Professor was Max-Pol Fouchet, specialist in art and music, professor at the Musée du Louvre, and later a very popular commentator on the French Television network. He lectured on Literature and Art Since 1850. He was a most helpful friend of our Graduate School in Paris; and returned as Visiting Professor here in the summer of 1955. M. Jean Bonnerot, Chief Librarian of the University of Paris, brought lustre to the school in two authoritative courses on Criticism and Literary Research. Michel Mohrt returned after a summer at our rival school in Mills College, and frequently taught here in later summers. He gave two masterly courses on A Century of French Thought, and The Personal Journals. New to the faculty were Miss Annette Emgarth of the Univ. of Pennsylvania, who revamped the Methods courses on a highly practical basis; and Konrad Bieber of Yale. Guilloton wisely decided to limit his teaching to one course, the Advanced Stylistics. Mme Madeleine Guilloton produced Beaumarchais' *Le Barbier de Séville* and Saint-Exupéry's *Le Petit Prince* with great success.

Distinguished guests at the school included the prize-winning novelist Marc Chadourne, who spent a week here and lectured twice; M. Chambon, Consul-Général in Boston, through whose interest the French Government annually allocated generous sums for scholarships, travelling expenses for our faculty, and book prizes for the Soirée d'Adieux. The school was proud to present at the August Commencement a former Visiting Professor, M. Daniel Mornet, one of the great teachers of the Sorbonne, for the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters. The international reputation of the Middlebury Language Schools was evidenced by the visit during the summer of a team of photographers and writers from the State Department magazine *America*. Later, a team from the "Voice of America" interviewed faculty and students for a broadcast.

Powerful external circumstances and attitudes began to act on the Language Schools in 1950. The French School was the first to feel the impact of the change, with a decrease in enrollment from 362 to 311. The other schools declined only slightly. At first, we speculated whether the new Graduate School in France had cut into the available French clientele so steeply. Later experience with the other Schools Abroad, especially the German School, proved this not to be the case. The French School continued to decline seriously, to 270 in 1952, and to its low point of 266 in 1954. For the other schools, the lowest point was reached in 1953, when the total enrollment in all seven summer schools was 772 as compared with the earlier average of over 1100. At the time, we were all dismayed and very puzzled. In retrospect, it is clear that the chief cause was the national situation: the Korean War, inflationary pressures, an economic recession, and the diversion of public interest from education. Summer school enrollments all over the country declined even more abruptly than at Middlebury.

The decrease in enrollment at least improved the faculty-student ratio, previously unsatisfactory; and made for better learning in the practical courses in the spoken and written language. The quality of the 1950 faculty remained at a high level. M. Gaëtan Picon, one of the leading young literary critics in France, gave thorough instruction in the *Comédie Humaine* on the hundredth anniversary of Balzac's death. He returned as Visiting Professor in 1967. Mlle Andrée Bruel of Wellesley returned and joined the regular staff for many more years. Mlle Madeleine Leliepvre of St. Lawrence University, an "old-timer" from 1930 to 1946, returned for two summers before she retired, to live in France. The French Cultural Attaché, M. René de Messières, spent a week at the school, lectured on Balzac, and aided in organizing a special exhibit. He became a firm friend of the school, and in 1956 was the Visiting Professor. He once wrote: "I sincerely believe we have in Middlebury the nerve center of French life in the United States."

In the extracurriculum, a great novelty was added: an excursion on Lake Champlain in the good old S.S. Ticonderoga. All the schools were invited; language frontiers were well observed; and the tradition might have lasted long, had not the ship itself made an overland excursion a few summers later to the Shelburne Museum.

Shortly after the close of the session, Vincent Guilloton went to Paris to take charge of our Graduate School for the first semester. Mme Guilloton went with him as Director of the Smith College Junior Year Abroad. In the second semester Mlle Jeanne Boucoiran, who had been on the Middlebury faculty in the summers of 1948 and 1949, took over the Middlebury group, with no break in the Middlebury liaison. Later as Mme Édouard Daladier she continued as the second-semester Directeur d'Études for many years.

In the summer of 1951, the return of the German School from Bristol to its original birthplace in Pearsons Hall produced many physical changes. The French School, in relinquishing Pearsons and Painter, moved into the new dormitories called North and South Battell. Former Battell Cottage was re-christened Willard, and became the dining hall of the German School. In the meantime, the large basement room of Forest had been transformed into a dining hall, served from the same main kitchen. The accommodations of the French School were therefore Le Château, the two Forests, the two Battells, the upper floor of Willard, and Weybridge House; for dining rooms, Le Château and the three Forests. The Phonetics Center, which had for many years occupied the basement of Pearsons, was moved to Warner Science Hall. The top floor of newly completed Carr Hall became the Realia Museum, containing a rich collection of illustrative material on French culture, under the direction of Miss Louise Crandall.

Responding to the urgent need of better publicity and recruiting, Dean

Bourcier reorganized the association of former students and friends. Called the "Amicale de Middlebury", it was the forerunner of similar associations in the other schools. It had a regular constitution and elected officers, dues which gradually contributed significantly to scholarship funds, and a meeting held in Middlebury usually on the Bastille Day weekend. Bourcier began publishing each year in the name of the Amicale a little mimeographed brochure of welcome to students, containing useful information about the school, rules, services and addresses.

The Visiting Professor in 1951 was Armand Hoog, a young chargé de cours at the University of Strasbourg, novelist and critic. His course on Symbolist Poetry was popular. He returned several times in later summers. Another notable addition was Dr. Georges May of Yale University, later the Dean at Yale. A specialist in the Eighteenth Century, he became a good friend of the school. With improved equipment, the Laboratory Course in Experimental Phonetics was resumed by Pierre Delattre, and opened to qualified students in the other schools.

Few important changes took place in the French School in the next three summers. With declining enrollments, Guilloton maintained quality of instruction with the "old guard." The Visiting Professors, in succession, brought novelty. In 1952, Dr. François Goguel of the Institut d'Études Politiques in Paris presented a timely course on France Today. In 1953, Thierry Maulnier, talented young playwright, critic and journalist, later a member of the French Academy, gave an original interpretation of the "Tragic" in French Literature. In 1954, Dr. Octave Nadal, professor at the Sorbonne, taught his specialty of French Classicism. Mlle Léa Binand, Directress of Le Château during the winter, and occasionally a member of the summer staff from as far back as 1926, returned in 1954 for three more summers until her retirement in France.

A timely project was geared to the awakening national interest in foreign languages in the elementary schools. The movement, called FLES for short, was the subject of two intensive forums which I organized in 1953, followed the next summer by a special program which brought good publicity to Middlebury. In charge was Dr. Theodore Andersson of Yale, leader of the FLES movement, and an important figure in the Foreign Language Program of the M.L.A. He was assisted in seminars, workshops and demonstration classes by Miss Adeline Strouse for the French and by Mrs. Margit MacRae for Spanish. Dr. William Riley Parker, Secretary of the M.L.A., was awarded the degree of Doctor of Letters, honoris causa, at the 1953 Commencement, and his excellent address was later printed in *School and Society*.

The school was saddened by the death in Paris in October 1952 of Mrs. Ruth Conniston Morize. One of the Sunday chapel hours was fittingly dedicated to her memory, since it was she who inaugurated the Chapel music programs, played the organ, and trained the choir for many years. On the last day of the 1953 session, Miss Edith Packer died in Porter Hospital, having given literally her last breath to her amazing collection of photographs, documents and mementoes of the school through many years. Her scrap-books, given to the school, are still a mine of fascinating memories. A Memorial Scholarship was founded in her name by the Amicale. Mme Guilloton was forced by poor health to yield the direction of dramatics to others in 1954.

The strike on the Rutland Railroad was timed in June 1953 to create maximum inconvenience for arriving students, some of whom had to hire taxis from Albany, or, without baggage, to live in the same clothes for ten days. In 1954 the quality of the food served in the dining-halls hit an all-time low. Guilloton wrote in one of his reports: "Students are saying, 'Excellent French is spoken at Middlebury but the food is unspeakable'." Little improvement was made until the appointment in 1956 of Mr. Gordon Bridges. Guilloton again spent the first semesters of 1953-54 and 1955-56 as Director of Studies of our Graduate School in Paris.

The French School of 1955 turned a corner, celebrating its Fortieth Session. The tide of student enrollment had definitely turned, up slightly to 279, and rose continuously from then on for ten years, to the high of 383. Battell Center dormitory had been completed, and the French School occupied it, yielding West Forest to the Italian School. The French School was thus secure in its tight quadrangle of East Forest, the Battells and Le Château, but still very close to the German and Italian Schools. All the directors were conscious of the difficulty of maintaining linguistic segregation.

The return of Max-Pol Fouchet, brilliant lecturer on art and modern literature, popular television commentator, set the tone of enthusiasm. Four other teachers came directly from Paris. M. Marty developed a new seminar called Introduction to Laboratory Methods, to study the use of the new scientific equipment for language learning, and the materials necessary for it. We were happy to congratulate two newly married couples. Pierre Delattre, head of the Phonetics Section, married Mlle Genevieve Stahl whom he had known on our summer faculty since 1949. Miss Lota Curtiss, organist and carillonneur of the school for many years, returned as Mrs. W. E. Hogg, wife of an Episcopal rector in Maine, and continued with the school until 1972. Recitals by Martial Singher, tenor, and Henri Deering, pianist, again packed Mead Chapel.

The new all-school Language Laboratory and Phonetics Center in Hillcrest was the exciting feature of the 1956 session. The French School had had its laboratory in Warner Science Hall, but the equipment was insufficient, and growing out-of-date. Now, the French School shared the extensively remodeled Hillcrest Laboratory, with new machines, new materials and techniques. Its success was such that within two summers it was unable to keep up with the demand, and plans for more facilities were begun.

Guilloton believed in the importance of phonetics in the curriculum, but often argued that there was too much theory and not enough remedial work in the classes. He pointed out that students could usually explain how a correct French sound should be made, but they did not make it. He urged the teachers to do more correctional work and to devote more class time to actual practice rather than discussion. In this problem, the individual laboratory cubicle is most helpful. He likes to tell how, sitting in his office one day, he heard repeated groans coming from a student's room: "ahhh, ohhh, ahhh." Alarmed, he rushed to the rescue, only to find that the student was practicing French vowel sounds by the book.

In his tenth report as Director, Vincent Guilloton, while congratulating the college on the improvement in its physical facilities, wisely expressed warnings about some of the dangers that threatened the schools. He was especially concerned about the fundamental principle of the exclusive use of the foreign language, and any threat to the separation of schools. Since all the schools were in close contact, particularly the French, German, and Italian, and shared many buildings like Hillcrest, Munroe and Wright Theatre, a dangerous amount of fraternization and use of English threatened to erode the basic tenet and uniqueness of Middlebury. He warned that any further trend in this direction, even in the name of economy of operation, would prove a poor investment by profoundly altering the character and quality of the Middlebury schools.

He called attention also to the increase in undergraduates. In 1951, 80% of the enrollment were graduate students, and 21% held the M.A. or the Ph.D. In an effort to keep the enrollment up, all the schools had accepted more undergraduates, to the point where in 1956, only 69% were graduate students. Most of the undergraduates were reasonably well qualified, but he noted that there were fewer students in the more advanced courses. He felt that the real future of Middlebury lay in keeping it strictly at the graduate level.

With rising enrollments, a number of changes in personnel took place in the ensuing summers. The list of Visiting Professors maintained its distinction: in 1956, M. René de Messières, former Cultural Attaché, then Director of the French Institute in Edinburgh; in 1957, Jean-Pierre Richard, critic and author, professor at the French Institute in London; in 1958, Roland Barthes, celebrated critic of the "new literature", and officer in the Relations Culturelles, teaching an original course on Everyday Life in Today's France. At the 1957 Commencement, the degree of Doctor of Letters, honoris causa, was conferred on Henri Peyre, Chairman of the French Dept. at Yale, and long a friend of the school.

We remember with sadness the death of André Morize in October 1957. Some of his "old guard" had retired from the school. Mlle Maud Rey ended her many valuable and colorful summers at the school in 1956, but continued to reside in Middlebury, and was welcomed with affection at many school functions. Mlle Léa Binand retired and returned to France to live. A scholarship was established in her name by Mrs. Stella Christie, who is herself memorialized in another scholarship. After 1957, Pierre Delattre and his wife removed to California. He was eventually replaced by André Malecot, son of Gaston Malécot of the early days, himself M.A. Middlebury in 1947, Ph.D. Univ. of Pennsylvania, and employed in the Haskins Laboratories. We welcomed the return of Mme Renée Perrot-Orangers, a member of the old staff of 1928-43, giving valuable assistance especially in the dramatics programs for many more summers. Loyal new additions were Captain Claude Viollet of West Point; Mlle Marie-Louise Noël of Milton Academy; Jean Buteau, Director of the Language Program in the Northampton Mass. schools; and Michel Guilloton, son of the director, who became highly skillful in the oral practice classes.

The session of 1959 stood out in the memories of students. The enrollment had climbed to 364, one short of the maximum previous figure in 1948. The proportion of graduate students had come up again to 78%. The school occupied its five dormitories and three dining halls to maximum capacity. Many good applicants were turned away for lack of space, chiefly because of the college's policy to close dining halls and kitchens. The N.D.E.A. gave serious competition, and drew away several faculty members by the much higher salaries they paid; but the nationwide publicity in favor of language study resulted in ever mounting applications. Middlebury came to be known as the place to go *after* spending a couple of summers at an Institute.

Now that Wright Memorial Theatre had been completed, and the problems of its equipment, operation, and scheduling solved with the fine cooperation of Professor Erie Volkert, the logical time had come to invite back the great star of the French theatre, Mme Berthe Dussane. Famous Sociétaire of the Comédie Française, professor in the Conservatoire d'Art Dramatique, creator of classic roles since 1925, prolific author and popular lecturer, she had been Visiting Professor at Middlebury in 1938. She lectured on Molière and His Times, with frequent dramatic readings and interpretations. Under her inspiration, the dramatics season was impressive.

The session was distinctive in other ways too. Dr. Jean Loiseau, Dean of the Faculty of Letters at the University of Bordeaux, organizer and director of the summer courses at Pau, gave two courses on Twentieth Century France, and the Contemporary Novel. M. and Mme Pierre Léon then at Ohio State University, experts in phonetics, added special competence to that section in 1959 and 1960. M. Édouard Morot-Sir, Cultural Counselor of the French Embassy, was guest lecturer, and received the degree of Doctor of Letters, honoris causa, at Commencement. At the same time, James Edward Allen, Jr., later U.S. Commissioner of Education, was awarded the degree of Doctor of Laws.

The last three summers that Vincent Guilloton directed the French School were distinguished by their stability, the smooth operation of a loyal staff of high quality. Most of them had worked with him for several years, some since the beginning. It was a cohesive team, understanding exactly what was expected of them. The most unusual new face in 1960 was Michel Butor, a rising young author who has since become one of the most famous contemporary novelists. His course on the Contemporary Novel, interpreting the "nouvelle vague", was a sensation. François Darbon, a talented young actor and stage director, was in charge of dramatics. In 1961, Jean Guéhenno, Visiting Professor in 1947, returned and achieved the same warm human success in his course on the Development of French Thought. Michel Mohrt, editor in the Gallimard publishing house, returned for the fifth time, as Visiting Professor in 1962, lecturing on the Contemporary Novel.

Among Guilloton's "old guard" of some sixteen years service were Claude Bourcier, Mlle Andrée Bruel, Maurice Coindreau, Miss Louise Crandall, Marc Denkinger, Mme Marguerite Fourel, René Guiet, Mlle Marie-Rose Huntzbuchler, Mme Renée Perrot-Orangers, Mme Léontine Moussu. Mme Moussu died suddenly in France soon after the session of 1962, beloved and mourned by all. More recent comers, but forming a part of the trained team were Mlle Mireille Azibert, Mme Jacqueline Delobel-Brimmer, Mlle Marie Gontier, Mlle Françoise Mélat, Mme Evelyne Teeluckdharry, James Watkins. Important also were the "old faithfuls" in the non-teaching staff: Mrs. Lota Curtiss Hogg, Kent Carr, Miss Rita Couture, Wayne Ross, Edward and Jane Bourque, Mlle Marion Tamin, and many others. All these, and a few new faces, like Luc Dariosecq,

Vincent Guilloton plays the drunk in Courteline's Un Client Sérieux

Earle Randall, Jean Vadon, Mme Denise Watkins, Mlle Anne-Claire Chamaillard (daughter of "old-timer" Pierre), Mme Claire Saint-Leon contributed their skill and zeal.

The faculty club-room was then in the basement of Center Battell, and therefore still a "caveau" as in Morize's time. It continued to be a meeting place and center for relaxation and good times; the refrigerators were kept filled, and the bulletin boards used. Guilloton "dropped in" after his eight o'clock class. The school tempo was faster, however, and the pressure greater. In all the schools, the "faculty-clubs" were of lesser importance in the 1960's.

The curriculum remained essentially stable likewise. Guilloton taught the Stylistics as usual, and coordinated the grammar-composition courses. Malecot and Mme Moussu supervised the four levels of phonetics-diction. A large staff took care of the fifteen sections of oral practice on at least four different levels. In the Literature-Civilization group, Bourcier taught the Civilization in a Changing World, as usual; Coindreau offered his specialties in the Renaissance and Twentieth Century Theatre; Denkinger had the Theatre or the Prose of the 17th and 18th centuries. Mlle Bruel often gave a course on the Middle Ages, and rendered real service to the students going to France by introducing them to the method of Explications de Textes. Guilloton continued the dignified tradition of the Sunday morning "Heure Spirituelle", and Bourcier directed the celebrated choir. Both played leading roles in the theatrical performances, from Labiche and Courteline to Moliere, Beaumarchais and Ionesco. The Amicale regularly held its annual weekend in July.

The enrollment fluctuated little, and could go no higher because it was at maximum capacity. It declined slightly to 347 in 1960, because of my urging that we accept fewer students living in town. It climbed to 374 and then to 381 in 1962, the largest ever up to that time, in spite of my urging. They were serious graduate students, as is evidenced by the 79 Master's degrees conferred from the French School in 1962, 35 from the regular summer program and 44 from the school in Paris. The figure of 35, compared with only eight from the regular French summer program in 1956, allayed Guilloton's fear, expressed at that time, that students would prefer the "quicker" degree from the school in Paris, and that graduate work at Middlebury would decline.

Vincent Guilloton retired from Smith College as Shedd Professor of French in June 1962 at the age of 68. He expressed the wish to retire from his Middlebury post after the session of 1962, and his decision was announced to the school at the closing exercises on August 13. Affectionate farewell parties were held in his honor. The Amicale named one of its full-tuition scholarships for him.

After an interval of two years, Middlebury College conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws, honoris causa. At that Commencement ceremony in August 1964, his long service to Middlebury was recalled, since 1932 as teacher, Assistant Director, Acting Director, and Director for sixteen years. In the official citation, President Armstrong said: "For thirty years you have served Middlebury College and its French School both on this campus and abroad. You have been a great teacher, scholarly and stimulating, popular in the classroom which you are even now loath to leave, and on the lecture platform. You have been a wise and skillful administrator, worthy successor of another great leader; you have gathered about you a superb faculty; you merited its loyalty and affection; and you brought our French School to new heights of excellence and prestige. . . ."

He continued to be active and vigorous after his retirement from Smith and Middlebury. He had been divorced from his wife Madeleine several years before. She lived in Paris for a while, and has since died. Guilloton married Miss Doris Starr in the autumn of 1962. He had been associated with the Advanced Placement Program of the Educational Testing Service at Princeton, and continued his work with that office for a while. In 1964 he accepted a part-time appointment as Visiting Master of French at Lawrenceville Academy for three years. In 1967 he retired completely, living near Washington Square in New York. His wife is Professor of German at New York University. They travelled much in Europe in the summer, and he continued to serve on the boards of French associations in New York. He died suddenly on February 9, 1975.

Vincent Guilloton was just the right man to be the Director of the French School between 1947 and 1962. It was a difficult assignment. First, he had to follow the great and beloved master André Morize. He did this with modesty and dignity, but with no let-down or sense of diminution. He continued to implement vigorously the policies that had forged the high reputation of the school, adapting them to new needs and new conditions. He believed that the major objective of the school was the preparation of teachers of French. For this reason, he emphasized the role of the language courses, as more important for them than the literature. The competent teacher must have a near-native command of the spoken and written language. He increased considerably the number of teachers coming directly from France, heightening the freshness and immediacy of the school's French atmosphere. Not only Visiting Professors of literature, but lycée teachers of phonetics, composition, and oral practice were brought for a summer or two, in much variety.

Secondly, this was a period of great fluctuation in the national popularity of language studies, and of the French School's enrollment. From a high of 361 when he became Director, it sank to 266 in 1954, then rebounded to 381 in his last summer. These fluctuations created serious problems in staffing, in the budget, in the organization of the curriculum, and in the assignment of dormitories. In close cooperation with Claude Bourcier and me, Guilloton confronted these problems with coolness, and solved them intelligently. I was particularly appreciative of his willingness to economize and retrench when the enrollment was low. He recognized that the larger schools must bear the major burden of the overhead costs in hard times. At the same time, he was rigorous in his care for the physical well-being of his students. His reports gave major attention to the condition of the dormitories, the food in the dining halls, the abatement of noise, and the general improvement of the school's physical situation.

In a period of transition, he created the right spirit of cooperation and teamwork among the faculty. Tactful, and endowed with an excellent sense of humor, he was genial with the students. and highly respected by all. He was one of our most successful actors, playing comic roles with enthusiasm and delightful buffoonery. He was especially adept at clowning the parts of rogues like Scapin and Mascarille in Molière's comedies.

He rendered a major service to all the schools by his constant insistence upon the importance of the pledge of "no-English", and the linguistic isolation of the schools. In discussions in the Council of Directors, in his own faculty meetings, and in his contacts with individual students, he made it clear that the "Middlebury idea" was in danger if we yielded to the slightest weakening on this point. With tact but determination, he stressed the strategy of "boundaries" both physical and academic, banned fraternization, opposed joint courses in English, frowned on students taking courses in two languages, and urged in every possible way "living in the language." His complete devotion to his ideals for the French School brought real growth in size, in prestige, and in quality.

Jean Boorsch, 1962-1971

When, at the soirée d'adieux of the session of 1962, Vincent Guilloton presented Jean Boorsch to the French School as his successor, only four members of the faculty could remember him as the slender young teacher coming fresh "archicube" from the École Normale Supérieure, to teach at Middlebury, first in the academic year 1929-30, and in the summer of 1930. Senior to most of his staff now in age and experience, he brought to the administration of the French School great scholarly prestige, high ideals of quality in graduate studies, and wide contacts in education and letters both in America and in France.

Jean Boorsch had given early evidence of a brilliant career. Born in Anzin, France, in 1906, he won a major prize in the Concours Général of the Lycées of France in 1922. Accepted for the École Normale Supérieure in 1926, he organized international student conferences, and was active in the Institute of International Cooperation, a branch of the League of Nations. He received the Diplôme d'Études Supérieures with specialization in classical archeology, writing his thesis on the Legend of Helen of Sparta. He graduated with the degree of Agrégé des Lettres in 1929, second in his class. Recommended to Middlebury by a classmate, Jean Ehrhard, who was leaving Middlebury for the University of Michigan, Boorsch was Assistant Professor of French in our winter session from 1929 to 1931, spent a year in the French Army, and returned for the years 1932-34.

JEAN BOORSCH
Director of the French Summer School, 1962-1971; Member of its faculty from 1930; Assistant Professor of French, Middlebury College, 1929-1934

He was then tempted away from Middlebury by an appointment at Yale University, where he advanced to the chair of Street Professor of French. In the period following the war, he was in charge of an intensive foreign language program at Yale; and developed imaginative materials in a *Méthode Orale de Français* for undergraduates. More recently he was the Director of French Graduate Studies there, with a large responsibility for student advising, and the supervision of doctoral theses. In the midst of heavy teaching duties, he did not neglect his scholarly research. He became an authority on Descartes, bringing the bibliography up to date with *État présent des études sur Descartes*. He then turned to Corneille's theories on the theatre, with *Études sur la technique dramatique de Corneille*. Showing broad competence in the 17th century, he has published many articles in *Yale French Studies*, the *French Review*, the *Saturday Review*, and the *Encyclopedia Americana*. He became an expert on testing and examinations in French, serving as Chairman for French of the Advanced Placement Committee of the College Entrance Examination Board, and also of the Graduate Record Examination Committee. The French Government recognized his merit, decorating him first as Officier d'Académie, and then in 1966 as Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur.

He continued his close association with the Middlebury French Summer School under André Morize, returning regularly in the summers of 1933 to 1938, in 1941, 1947 to 1949, in 1951, and 1958, a total of 14 summers. In the intervals, he taught in the summer schools of Mills College and Hollins College, and at Yale-Reid Hall in France. He was the Director of Studies of Middlebury's Graduate School in France during the first semester of 1956-57. He is also numbered among the many Middlebury romances. He met his wife, the former Louise Totten, a student in his classes here in 1929, and I had the honor of being the "best man" at their wedding. Their daughter Marie-Louise attended our Graduate School of French in Paris between summers at Middlebury. Her father proudly handed her her Master's diploma in August 1963. Louise's brother Albert Totten is a Middlebury alumnus, class of 1928.

Jean Boorsch was not one to make sudden or sweeping changes. Guilloton had left the French School in excellent condition, and Boorsch kept the great majority of the faculty of previous summers. Greatly missed were Madame Moussu who died soon after the session of 1962, and Maurice Coindreau who had retired and gone to live in Paris. An important addition to the faculty of 1963 was the Visiting Professor Pierre-Henri Simon, literary historian, novelist, and literary critic of *Le Monde*, lecturing on the French Novel 1930-60. He was later elected to the French Academy. Two other former Visiting Professors at Middlebury are now members of the Académie Française: Jean Guéhenno, here in 1947 and 1961; and Thierry Maulnier, in 1953.

Jean Paris, dramatic critic and adviser to the Compagnie Renaud-Barrault, lectured on the Contemporary French Drama. Dramatics were high-lighted by the appointment of François Darbon, a Paris actor and theatre director, in charge of the plays, and offering a distinctive seminar on The Birth of a Production. Madame Munier of the Institut Britannique and Madame Peyrollaz of the Institut de Phonétique were added to the Phonetics Department. Without previous experience in the administration of the school, Boorsch was entirely successful in winning the support of faculty and students in a harmonious operation.

A great honor came to the French School in June 1963, the award of the Gold Medal Prize of the French Language by the Académie Française. The diploma and medal were officially presented through the French Cultural Counselor, M. Morot-Sir, by Maurice Genevoix, Secretary of the Académie. In his letter to President Armstrong, Morot-Sir expressed his congratulations for the special distinction, "Thanks to Middlebury's French Summer School, its group of Studies in Paris, and the remarkable work of its French Department." The diploma is displayed in the Morize Room of Starr Library; the medal itself, a beauty, is in the vault.

Gradually the policies and the educational philosophy of the new director began to be felt, conditioned by the changing personnel of the faculty and the developing character of the student body. The basic trend was toward a more demanding intellectual program suited to the ever higher level of competence of the students. About 95% of them were graduate students, and even the few undergraduates were ready for specialized seminars. Boorsch concentrated his effort therefore on securing top-level specialists, distinguished men of letters, literary critics, philosophers, editors, even rather than professors, as visitors from France. His wide acquaintance with the French literary scene made this feasible.

The next years brought Jean-Marie Domenach, Director of the important magazine *Esprit*, lecturing on The Tragedy in the Contemporary World; Dr. Jean-Pierre Richard, from the Institut Français in Madrid, a brilliant leader of the New Criticism in France, here in 1957, discussing recent experimental tendencies in the novel and poetry; Jacques Borel, poetry critic, and novelist of the latest Prix Goncourt, explaining the poetical lineage of Paul Verlaine; Robert Kanters, literary director of the Editions Noël, and dramatic critic for *L'Express*, giving a seminar on the Essence of Novelty in Contemporary Literature; in 1967 and again in 1971, Ferdinand Alquié, Professor of Philosophy at the Sorbonne, studying Descartes and his influence on French thought; in 1970, Pierre Albouy, Professor of Contemporary Literature at the Sorbonne.

Beginning in 1966, Boorsch arranged for two Visiting Professors from France each summer, usually subsidized by the French Government, in addition to many others coming directly from France. This gave greater distinction and breadth of program. It was also convenient when, as happens with public figures, one of them was unable to keep his commitment. Each summer, at least ten lycée teachers, authors, and professional people from the world of letters or the stage brought France to the Middlebury campus in living contact.

Boorsch began another successful innovation in 1965, the appointment of a Visiting Lecturer, who gave five afternoon lectures during the second week, open to the whole school. These lectures were the nucleus of a seminar course continued for the rest of the session in research done by individual students under the supervision of another teacher. The arrangement permitted all students to profit by the presence of a famous teacher for an intensive week, and by a stimulus that lasted all summer. The series was brilliant: Georges May, Dean of Yale College, on Corneille; Henri Peyre of Yale, on Romanticism; Jean-Albert Bédé of Columbia, on the intellectual crisis of 1900; Germaine Brée

FRENCH SCHOOL FACULTY, SUMMER OF 1964

on Proust; Michael Riffaterre of Columbia on The Poetic Image; Édouard Morot-Sir, former Cultural Counselor, on Pascal. Almost the entire faculty attended these special lectures too, recognizing their extraordinary contribution to the intellectual atmosphere of the school.

The special offerings of the visiting professors and lecturers were well supported by a regular curriculum of period and genre courses and of general culture. One of the most popular was the course in Civilization given by Bourcier, enrolling up to 130 students. It was considered an essential introduction to France for students going to the Graduate School in Paris. Marc Denkinger regularly gave courses on the theatre or the poetry of the classical period, until his retirement after 1965. Life and Literature of the Middle Ages were skillfully taught by Mlle Andree Bruel. Other teachers of literature were Jean Paris, who became Visiting Professor in 1968, and a magnetic and eloquent blind professor Jacques Lusseyran from Western Reserve.

Many innovations whetted the appetite of advanced students. The Director created and taught for two years a course called Linguistics, Its History, Content, and Applications. It was scientific, cultural, and useful for the classroom teacher. In 1967, out of his experience, Boorsch gave a new course, The Advanced Placement Program, Studies in Literary Analysis, focussed on texts in the C.E.E.B. Manual, and especially designed for teachers of literature at the secondary level. Later, Watkins gave in the Methods Section a course on Continuing Language in Literature. Bourcier relinquished the Civilization course for a while to lecture on the poet Claudel, the Surrealist movement, or, after a year in Paris, on the French Literary Scene Today. Reflecting the great student interest in the theatre, seminars were given on the dramatic productions, with student participation. Roland Monod offered successively the Magic of the Theatre, Man and Memory in the Contemporary Theatre, and Le Théâtre en Liberté. Courses like these, never found in the standard university curriculum, much less in a summer school, attest the innovative quality of Middlebury's leadership, and the intellectual capacity of its student body.

While placing chief emphasis on the literary and cultural offerings, Boorsch endeavored to raise the intellectual content of the courses in language. The non-graduate course in Intermediate Grammar, given for many years to the weaker students, was eliminated. Remedial work for the few who needed it, was given in the graduate grammar course. Gradually, the demands of the three upper level courses were increased; translation exercises were diminished and replaced by exercises in "free" composition or self-expression. Boorsch's aim was to minimize the crossing from one language to another, and to give the students greater practice in thinking and writing directly in French. The ultimate goal was expressed by a new course Advanced Practice in Writing. In 1965, sixteen graded sections of Composition took care of 239 students, an average of fifteen per section.

Similar upgrading took place in the Oral Practice courses. The lowest-level course had been given for many years on a two-hour plan: a general meeting at which the topic and vocabulary to be used the next day were presented, and then small practice sections for actual conversation. This course, which gave only undergraduate credit, was raised in stages to graduate level, and reduced to a one-hour session, with topics and materials methodically organized. The two upper levels of oral practice were made more intensive, with emphasis on prepared discussion of assigned subjects.

Last to feel the effect of the trend was the Elementary Phonetics. It had been given for many years, for undergraduate credit, to students who had never studied the science of phonetics. By 1968, this was true of so few students that the course was dropped. The Intermediate course gave instruction on a scientific basis for the correction of pronunciation; and the new Laboratory provided superb facilities for the required intensive individual practice. Only the Advanced course, given regularly by André Malécot, was a lecture course on the physiology and acoustics of speech, and the special phonetic characteristics of French.

Changes were also occurring in the Methods and Professional Division. The basic course for secondary school teachers was given with great success by Marianne Ciotti, a graduate of Middlebury, Ph.D., Ohio State, Consultant in Foreign Languages in the Vermont Dept. of Education, and later at Boston University. It often had a demonstration class of village pupils. The Teaching of French in College was given by James Watkins. He also gave a practical course on Audio-Visual Media and Language Laboratory Methods, greatly enhanced by the completion of the Sunderland Center. So many of the students had already studied in France that there was much interest in a new course on Audio-Visual Techniques in French Education, taught by a professor from France with experience in the Saint-Cloud methods.

For many years, the school had accumulated a rich collection of illustrative material or "realia": books, pictures, music, folklore artifacts, regional costumes, and items of museum quality. This had been begun under Ruth Morize, and had been efficiently expanded by her pupil Louise Crandall. She continued a long tradition at the school by teaching a course on the use of "realia", or sometimes the implementation of an extra-curricular program, as in the French Club, with the use of songs, games, dramatizations, exhibits, for the correlation of cultural information. Louise Crandall retired in 1965, and no one has been found to take her place. The collections are still used as rich source material, but styles change, and student interest focusses nowadays more on contemporary activity than on folklore.

Although Boorsch did not play major roles in the theatre as often as his predecessors had done, he was an ardent supporter of the dramatics activities of the school. Thoroughly familiar with the French theatre, he brought to Middlebury a succession of theatre directors who gave in Wright Theatre presentations of a quality worthy of the best Paris stage. François Darbon, with Dominique Blanchar, a well-known actress schooled by Jouvet, gave *Siegfried* and *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac*. Next came Roland Monod, who for four summers, assisted by his wife Hélène, a talented actress, gave strikingly original yet tasteful interpretations of such plays as *Knock, Ubu Roi, Azote, Le Mal Court, Don Juan, L'Impromptu de Versailles, L'Ecole des Femmes*. *Fantasio* was done outdoors in front of Le Château. Monod also gave an excellent seminar on the theatre, indeed too popular (57 students) for as much student participation as he intended.

One of the Visiting Professors in 1969 was Jean-Paul Moulinot, member of the Comédie Française and Professor at the École Charles Dullin. He had first come to Middlebury in 1938 and 1939 as an aid to Madame Dussane. He returned now with his lovely actress wife Elizabeth Hardy to delight students with his course on the French Repertory Theatre, and with brilliant performances of, among others, Marivaux' *Ile des Esclaves*, in front of Le Château, and of Molière's *Amphitryon*. Beginning in 1970, Armel Marin, a Parisian theatrical producer, and his talented wife Solange Marin, have been in charge of the dramatics activities, with a workshop on the contemporary stage; and giving plays like *L'Été,* a droll fantasy, or Molière's *L'Amour Médecin* in a country fair atmosphere.

Other extra-curricular activities tended more to individual tastes than in the past. The traditional picnics on Chipman Hill and at Waterhouses on Lake Dunmore declined in popularity, and seem on the way to being dropped. Students with cars of their own preferred to organize their own private excursions. The Sunday morning "Heure Spirituelle" in Mead Chapel, now completely nonsectarian and even non-clerical, drew a smaller audience. The splendid choir of a hundred voices directed by Bourcier, the readings of philosophic or poetic meditations, and the instrumental music continued to be excellent, but the Sunday mood seemed to be for total relaxation or for individual activity. Sports, both individual and team, were popular—soccer, tennis, volleyball, and especially swimming in the new Brown Pool. The foreign movies shown in the village theatre were often of mediocre quality, and were neglected in favor of the selected films and documentaries shown by all the schools in Dana, admission free. The student-organized Soirée de Variétés was always successful, sometimes brilliant; and showed extraordinary talent. The speeches of Jean Boorsch, at the opening and closing exercises, and occasionally during the session on some special topic, were delightful masterpieces of wit, humorous phrase, as well as of erudition and good sense.

The summer of 1965 was very special. On Saturday, July 31, the College held a Convocation "to commemorate and celebrate the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Founding of the Summer Language Schools, and the Fiftieth Session of the French School." The program began with a brief historic account by me of the founding, the formula, and the development of the Language Schools. I recalled how the German School, founded first in 1915, had suspended operation after 1917 until 1931; so that the French School, founded by M. de Visme in 1916, is the oldest in continuous operation. President Armstrong then spoke, and introduced His Excellency M. Louis Joxe who had come especially from France to give the major address. In 1938, M. Joxe, then a young journalist, had been a member of the French School faculty. Since then he had a brilliant career in the French Government: Directeur Général des Relations Culturelles, Ministre de l'Éducation Nationale, Ambassador of France to the U.S.S.R., and Ministre d'État in charge of Administrative Reform.

M. Joxe spoke in French of Middlebury's work and reputation, concluding: "Middlebury is a synonym of success. Far more important, in the intellectual and spiritual relationships between France and the United States, . . . Middlebury constitutes a shining example". President Armstrong then conferred upon M. Joxe the degree of Doctor of Laws honoris causa. After referring to his long friendship for Middlebury and the aid he had given in our work, the citation continued: "Skillful diplomat in tense situations, wise administrator of cultural affairs, leader in educational progress, patient architect of the crucial Algerian settlement, and now charged with the most delicate of reforms, you have brilliantly merited the honors that France has bestowed upon you. While honoring you no less, we at Middlebury are privileged today to greet you in all

At the Convocation of 1965 celebrating the Fiftieth Session of the French School. Left to right: M. Bourcier, M. Boorsch, M. Joxe, Dr. Armstrong, Dr. Freeman simplicity as an old friend, to welcome you back to a Middlebury you have always loved, to talk with you of old times and of our new hopes; and by this act to count you as a permanent member of our Middlebury alumni family. . . ."

The whole weekend was exciting. French dignitaries from Washington and New York visited the school. In the framework of the annual meeting of the Amicale, M. Joxe lectured on the administrative reforms aiming at decentralization in France; the comedy *Knock* was staged by Roland Monod; the renowned pianist Jean Casadesus gave a concert; besides Sunday Chapel Hour, and a series of receptions, dinners, exhibits, and meetings. Many alumni and old friends of the school, notably Léa Binand, Olga Averino, and Maurice-Edgar Coindreau, returned for the occasion.

At the regular summer Commencement on August 17, Mlle Germaine Brée, then Research Professor at the University of Wisconsin, who had often taught in the school, received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. In her address, looking back over the history of fifty years, she said: "Middlebury has followed a carefully thought-out course, addicted to no particular myth, but firm on principles. . . . There are no "right" and "wrong" methods of teaching; but there is *good* and *bad teaching*, and in every case, the personal element is paramount in language communication." She praised Middlebury for resisting the contemporary "depersonalization" of the educational process, the cult of the machine, and the conditioned reflex. She spoke feelingly of the great men who have led the Language Schools, of Middlebury's dedication to the humanities, and closed with an eloquent plea for the study of literature, as the discipline which "most exclusively speaks to us as individual persons. . . . To feel, thanks to the mediation of literature, the ache and joy of the world; to see through its fictions and its myths is an experience both painful and rich."

The summer of 1965 set the high-water mark of enrollment in the French School, with a total of 383, a few more than the year before or after. This record was made possible only by accepting more than 70 students to live and take their meals off campus. Boorsch insisted repeatedly in his reports that this was highly unwise, since the value of the summer's experience is predicated upon a totally French-speaking environment. Dining-hall space was the limiting factor; indeed, some dormitory space was vacant. In 1967, a decline began, and the enrollment dropped to 345 in 1968 and to 338 in 1970. It appears that the chief causes were the national economic situation; the removal of language requirements in school and college, indeed the trend to permissiveness in all requirements; and the sharp advance in Middlebury's fees, increased about 50% in six years.

The French School shared in the joy of moving in 1966 into the new Sunderland Language Center. Instead of the corner apartment in East Forest which had been the director's office since Morize's time, Boorsch moved into Sunderland and found it "both pleasant and functional." Bourcier's office remained for the time being in Le Château. The school used Dana Auditorium heavily, for its largest classes, its special lectures, and an increasingly attractive program of motion pictures. The school also used the Freeman Laboratory and its individual booths intensively.

The summers of 1968 and 1969 saw considerable change in the faculty. A small group of "old-timers" continued until Boorsch's retirement in 1971: Marguerite Fourel, Renée Perrot-Orangers, Marie-Louise Noël, Marcelle Vincent, Maurice Ramband, André Malécot. René Guiet and Michel Guilloton retired after the session of 1970. Guiet was the only remaining link with the French School of 1925, before the days of Morize and myself. He and his wife now live in Northampton. Mrs. Lota Curtiss Hogg continued as organist-carillonneur through 1972, the last of Morize's "old guard" except Bourcier. Claude Bourcier remained as Dean through 1971, becoming "emeritus" in 1972, but still very active on the faculty through 1974, teaching courses on the contemporary French scene, directing the Graduate School in Paris, playing lead roles in the theatre, and directing the choir. Claude Lévy of the Browne and Nichols School, popular teacher of Composition since 1963 and star in many plays, died in 1968 and was memorialized in a scholarship by the Alliance Française.

On the other hand, many new and younger faces appeared on the campus, bringing new competencies and new interests. Among them were M. and Mme Bonifacio; M. and Mme Kaspi; M. and Mme Vadon and M. and Mme Krouchi, the latter four members of the winter college faculty; Michel Haar, Jean-Claude Morisot, Moshe Lazar, Claude Viollet; Jean-Pierre Lascoumes who acted as Assistant Dean in 1970; Lawrence Bel, secretary of the Graduate School in Paris; Mlle Sylvie Boorsch, niece of Jean; Anne-Claire Chamaillard, daughter of Pierre.

Boorsch was a leader in the discussions of the Council of Directors, alert to all possible improvements in academic quality and efficiency of operation. He was particularly concerned with the program of the Doctorate in Modern Languages. Early in his directorship he submitted a thoughtful memo on the administration of the degree. He considered the degree very important in Middlebury's program, and wished to maintain its quality at a high level of effectiveness.

Jean Boorsch announced well in advance his decision to retire at the close of the session of 1971, in order to give the college ample opportunity to choose his successor. He was heavily burdened at Yale with the responsibilities of all graduate work in French. A badly broken leg, slow in healing, had handicapped him severely for several years and taxed his strength. For the summer of 1971 he appointed as Visiting Lecturer his chosen successor Jean Carduner, Ph.D., University of Minnesota, Professor of French at the University of Michigan. The two men worked together closely during the summer, and Dr. Carduner received a most helpful introduction into the operation of the school, as well as an opportunity to get acquainted with the faculty and students. The transfer of authority was smooth and cordial.

Commencement 1971 was festive with dinner parties and gifts for Jean and Louise Boorsch, though mixed with sadness. At the exercises on August 17, William Yovanovich of Harcourt Brace Yovanovich Co. was the speaker, on the "Tunnel of Sound." He and Jean Boorsch received the degree of Doctor of Letters, honoris causa. Vice President Paul Cubeta presided. The citation of Boorsch said, in part: "Life-long and devoted friend of Middlebury College, his distinguished career in the teaching of French language and literature epitomizes the highest ideals of more than half a century of these summer language schools. Broad ranging literary scholar, imaginative teacher of the living language, gentle and perceptive administrator, he is remembered by generations of students for his quiet wit and unstinting generosity. In welcoming him to the company of Middlebury alumni, we honor a rare being who has observed Montaigne's maxim that 'the great and glorious masterpiece of man is to live to the point'."

Jean Boorsch heightened the stature of the Middlebury French School as a graduate school. Recognizing and challenging the increased competence of its students, he brought to his faculty the world's best specialists in French culture. They were not only Sorbonne professors of literature; they were novelists, poets, dramatists, theatre directors, critics in literary journals, or editors in publishing houses, philosophers. Nowhere in the United States did any summer school gather a more renowned and gifted group of teachers of French culture, willing at the same time to give generously of themselves to the whole schedule of the school's life and activities. To them he added skilled phoneticians, experts in linguistics, in audio-lingual techniques, and in the use of the language laboratory. He upgraded the purely language aspects of the curriculum, insisting on greater intellectual content.

Modestly, skillfully, setting the example himself, and watching over every area of the school's activities, he brought the school to a new level of intellectual achievement. His wife Louise was a worthy partner, a most gracious hostess, tactfully creating cooperation or soothing ruffled temperaments, the sympathetic balance-wheel of seven hectic weeks. Everyone was sincerely sorry when Jean and Louise Boorsch decided that they had done their share for Middlebury. They had indeed, and the school's best wishes went with them in their future activities, at Yale, and in retirement.

THE FIFTIES and SIXTIES

The German School

Werner Neuse, 1948 - 1967

Henry H. H. Remak, 1967 - 1971

Werner Neuse was the obvious choice to succeed Ernst Feise when the latter resigned as Director of the German School in October 1948. Dr. Neuse had been a member of the German School faculty since its rebirth in 1931. Following the resignation of Everett Skillings as Dean at the close of the summer of 1932, he had been named Assistant Director, later called Dean. From then on, he had been continuously in charge of the administrative and material aspects of the school. He had managed the publicity, admitted the students, corresponded with them about requirements and credits, and kept the records. The headaches were his too—the shortage of rooms in Bristol, the food at the Inn, the problems of classrooms, seats, and janitor service in the High School, the transportation of library books from Middlebury; all these gave him many worried hours. They had likewise given him complete familiarity with the operation of the school. He had capably discharged the sudden obligations thrown upon him when in May 1948, Dr. Feise decided he could not come, and Neuse was named Acting Director for the session.

Dr. Neuse had the desirable combination of knowledge of Germany and of American education. Born in northern Germany in 1899, he had spent most of his formative years in Berlin, had taught in secondary schools in the Berlin area, and studied at the University. He came to the United States first in 1927 as an instructor in German at the University of Wisconsin, taught a year at Hunter College; then returned to Germany and enrolled in the University of Giessen, completing his Ph.D. degree with a thesis on John Dos Passos. Another year of teaching at Wisconsin and a year at New York University preceded his appointment to Middlebury College as Associate Professor of German in September 1932.

In the meantime, he had inquired of Prof. Alexander Hohlfeld of Wisconsin about a summer job, and Dr. Hohlfeld had recommended him to his friend and protégé, the newly appointed Director Ernst Feise at Middlebury. Such was Feise's confidence in the Hohlfeld recommendation that he wrote to Neuse simply asking him what courses he wished to teach. The two worked together as an admirable team for eighteen years. Neuse was known as a skillful teacher of German language and literature, both in the winter college and in the summer courses. He had also begun to publish textbooks for German classes. *Wege zur deutschen Kultur, Vom Bild zum Wort,* and *Heitere Geschichten* were the first of a series of attractive language manuals.

Although obvious, the appointment was not made without careful consideration. Would it not be wise to follow the previous arrangement of a nationally known Director invited from outside to organize the faculty and curriculum, leaving to a Dean, resident in Middlebury, the administrative tasks? This pattern had worked well in the French School and had recently been adopted in the Spanish School. The German School was somewhat smaller, but the physical problems were greater because of the Bristol location. Could Neuse handle the double job? The atmosphere of the school was another consideration. As Neuse himself said later in his July 1967 Address, he and Ernst Feise were of different generations. Feise represented the pre-war romantic aura of the old Germany, the sentimental interpretation of German culture in music and art. He loved the guitar-accompanied song-fests in the moonlight on the slopes of Mt. Mansfield. Werner Neuse, on the other hand, was younger, and as yet less known nationally. He had taken part in World War I and had experienced with his generation the shattering of the old ideals and dreams, the disillusionments of the Twenties. Realism, and a rational, practical approach to problems, a wise caution, would characterize his administration.

These qualities were much needed, as he accepted in January 1949 the dual responsibility as Director of the German School; and confronted a deteriorating situation in the physical arrangements at Bristol. Mr. Clement Burnham, the manager of the Bristol Inn, was seriously ill. The young woman in charge of the dining room was not only untrained as a dietitian, but uncooperative. The food and the service were unsatisfactory. There was no possibility of increasing the dining room space for more than about 80 students.

At the Bristol High School, which was used for classrooms, study hall and library, problems were mounting. Space was too limited; tables and chairs inadequate; janitor service almost non-existent. A dramatic example of the unconcern of the School Board occurred in the summer of 1948, when without warning, a contractor and his crew descended on the Gymnasium with orders to cut an entrance through the basement wall. For a whole week, the building was made unendurable by pneumatic drills, cement mixer, hammering and sawing, to say nothing of the cement dust that sifted down into every corner, filling students' clothes, and the valuable collection of German books from the College Library.

The housing of students in private homes had never been good language policy, because they were constantly forced to use English in their contacts with the landladies and families. Relationships were usually very cordial, and this increased the difficulty of keeping the "no-English" pledge. An adequate number of satisfactory rooms was increasingly difficult to secure. Neuse himself lived in Middlebury with his family and commuted to Bristol very early in the morning, returning late at night. An increase in business in Bristol after the war brought more residents; and the landladies naturally preferred year-round occupants.

In 1948, a Mr. Estey was engaged as a special agent to find rooms. It was partly due to his efforts that the enrollment could rise to 82, then to 84 in 1949

WERNER NEUSE
Dean of the German Summer School, 1932-1948; Director, 1948-1967; member of its faculty from 1931; Professor of German, Middlebury College, 1932-1966

and 1950; but the school was refusing many applicants for lack of space. Even the environment was changing; the swimming hole in the brook where students for many summers had gone for an afternoon dip was declared polluted. It was clear to all that the current situation could not be allowed to continue.

Academically the school moved along smoothly under Dr. Neuse's supervision. The session of 1949 commemorated the 200th anniversary of the birth of Goethe, with special series of lectures by the Visiting Professor Frederick Sell, and by organist Ludwig Lenel. Mr. Heinz Politzer of Bryn Mawr coached a Faust puppet play and two performances of *Urfaust,* the second one being given in honor of Dr. and Mrs. Ernst Feise when they returned for the Commencement exercises at which Dr. Feise received the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters. Dr. Sundermeyer took his Phonetics class to Middlebury frequently to use the facilities of the Phonetics Center in Hillside Cottage. The annual Volksfest was held on the lawn behind the Bristol Inn, with the usual participation of the village children.

The session of 1950 was successful academically. Enrollment held at 84, with twice as many men as women, 56 to 28. There were still 25 veterans at the school. The U.S. Dept. of State sent five men for further preparation for the Foreign Service, enrolling in language practice courses only. The Visiting Professor was Dr. B. Q. Morgan, emeritus of Stanford University, the "grand old man" of German studies in America. He and his wife contributed greatly in song and humor to the atmosphere of the school; and although advanced in age, climbed mountains with the students on weekends. Dr. Wolfgang Stechow featured the 300th anniversary of the death of J. S. Bach. Miss Nita Willits, A.B., and M.A. Middlebury, took charge of the folkdancing. A book on German folkdances, with music, instructions and sketches, by two former students, was published with the aid of a grant from the Carl Schurz Foundation, and sold through the school. There were eight recipients of the Master's degree.

This session was the twentieth, and the last held at Bristol. A solution to the problems had at last materialized. During the winter of 1949-50, two new dormitories rose in the field beside Château Road, and were named North and South Battell. Dr. Neuse, returning from leave, wondered if they could provide room for the German School. Yes, there was room, but an even more appropriate assignment was adopted. The French School would move out of Pearsons Hall which it had occupied since 1916, and the German School would return to that building where it had inaugurated the Middlebury Language Schools in 1915.

The official announcement was made at the close of the 1950 session, and was in general received calmly. The townspeople who rented their rooms were doubtless disappointed. The Burnhams and the School Board had been warned. A few of the older alumni wrote deploring the move, since they could not conceive of the traditional atmosphere of the German School existing elsewhere. They felt that its idyllic setting, its seclusion and its independence were all gravely threatened. Neuse and I were entirely aware of the dangers involved and determined to find the proper safeguards.

The German School returned to the Middlebury campus in the summer of 1951. Pearsons Hall became the center of the school's life, and its women's dormitory. The lovely social hall was its general meeting place, for lectures and discussions, for singing after meals, and for the Sunday "Morgenfeiern." It was a much more attractive room than the Gartensaal in Bristol; and the splendid view of the Green Mountains and the Adirondacks compensated for "Hogback Mt." The basement lounge became the reference reading room, and at times a game room. Two rooms on the main floor were classrooms, and a third became a little phonetics laboratory with a wire recorder and playbacks. Painter Hall was the men's dormitory. The dining room was in Willard House, (formerly Battell Cottage, renamed Alumni House, then Economics House, and more lately Adirondack House), a large cool breezy room.

The German School was at once made to feel welcome on the campus, sharing in all the general facilities of the other four language schools. Starr Library was perhaps the greatest blessing, with its rich collections of reference works, dictionaries, literature, art, biography, history. No longer was it necessary to spend days trucking a limited selection of books to Bristol, setting them up on the gymnasium bleachers, with the resultant wear and tear and dirt. The school used three classrooms in Munroe Hall and elsewhere when needed, clean well-lighted classrooms with seats of adult size. The calendar and schedule of the other schools was adopted; the time-table of classes and meals was the same in all schools.

The facilities of the General Language Laboratory, then evolving toward the Hillcrest set-up, were immediately and heavily used, as the German School had a long tradition of interest in phonetics. Neuse and later Fritz Tiller gave the course regularly. Provision for dramatics was inadequate until the construction of Wright Memorial Theatre in 1958, but the school had space and equipment much better than at Bristol. Mead Chapel was available for the concerts which formed so large a part of the German program, and for the choral groups so popular under Tiller's direction. Not the least gain was the prompt and reliable service of the whole staff of the Buildings and Grounds Dept., maids, janitors, plumbers, electricians, always responding to a call, even for an emergency on a Sunday evening.

While adhering to the linguistic segregation of schools, the German School profited from contact with the activities of the other schools, and gave much in return. Some students took courses by permission in the other schools; French or Spanish students enrolled or audited in German classes. All the Sunday evening concerts were well attended by all the schools. Volleyball or soccer teams were organized for international competition; the vocabulary heard at a match was amazing.

The broad level lawn adjoining the Gartensaal in Bristol, so suited to the folkdancing, could not be duplicated. The lawn north of Pearsons, with a beautiful view, was not broad enough, and the piano in the lounge could not be well heard outside, even with my improvised loudspeaker at a window. Eventually the folkdancing was done at the foot of the hill toward the Château, where there was adequate level space; and musical accompaniment was furnished by an accordeon, with sometimes a violin or two added. By the end of the second summer, Neuse could report that the transition had been successful, and the old atmosphere of jolly participation was as strong as ever, made even more stimulating by the nearness of the other schools. He continued to italicize in the bulletin the requirement that all students must participate in the social life of the school, as an integral part of the language practice. He kept a regular "tagebuch" or diary of the summer's happenings, supplemented with anecdotes and humor. It was usually read at the "Schlussfeier", and later distributed as a souvenir.

Important though not determinant in the decision to bring the school back to Middlebury was the financial aspect. In Bristol, the college was renting rooms and buying meals for the students. Only their tuition fees were kept by the college to cover the cost of instruction and the rent of the school building. With the school back on campus, sharing all the college facilities, the total operation was not only simpler and more economical, but more likely to cover the overhead costs.

It was well that the change was made at that time, for all the Language Schools were facing lean years. The German School enrollment declined from 84 in 1950 to 72 in 1951, to 59 in 1952, and to 42 in 1953. This was the lowest point in twenty years; but it was definitely not the fault of the new director nor of the new location. All the schools decreased in those years, the English, French and Spanish Schools most of all. Total enrollments in the seven schools dropped from 1035 to 772 in the same four years. The causes, chiefly the national economic situation, have been discussed in Chapter 4.

Besides the new and better facilities in Middlebury, the instruction continued rich and varied. Dr. Heinz Bluhm of Yale, a specialist in 19th century literature, was Visiting Professor in 1951 and returned in 1953. Dr. Oskar Seidlin of Ohio State University, often a member of the faculty since 1939, returned in 1951 and was the Visiting Professor in 1952. Dr. Hilde Cohn of Swarthmore, well

Mr. Tiller leads a German School Chorus at Bristol

known in the school, returned in 1952 to give a new course on Austrian literature. Dr. Edith Runge, Chairman of the German Dept. in Mt. Holyoke, was skillful in teaching grammar and composition. Dr. Harry Steinhauer of Antioch, an old faithful from 1945, initiated a course in Philosophy, thus strengthening the offerings in civilization. Among the auxiliary personnel are three well-remembered names—Louise Kiefer, secretary; Nita Willits in charge of folk-dancing; and John Roberts in the bookstore.

The alumni group was revived at a meeting held in Boston in December 1952, and an official organization was formed, named Freunde der Deutschen Schule (FIDES) with the connotations of faithful friendships and support for the school. The association held a weekend reunion in Middlebury in July 1953, with two plays and a lake trip on the S.S. Ticonderoga as part of the program. FIDES grew healthily and became a real source of strength for the school.

Nationwide conditions for the summer schools began to improve in 1954 and German enrollments crept up. They rose to 51 in 1954, and to 60 in 1955. Dr. Neuse loyally kept his budget small in the slim years, with an able group of only six teachers in 1954. Dr. Wolfgang Stechow, a member of the faculty intermittently since 1942, returned this time as Visiting Professor, a well-merited honor. Professor of Fine Arts at Oberlin, he was also a concert pianist and orchestra conductor. His humaneness and gentlemanliness graced an outstanding artistic talent. Through the years he was among the most valuable and admired men on the faculty.

New were Dr. Herbert Lederer of Wabash and Dr. Joachim Seyppel later of Bryn Mawr, both destined to return for many summers. Neuse himself taught two courses, on *Faust* and on Arthur Schnitzler. As the house director's suite in Pearsons became available, he made his headquarters there. He usually spent the night there instead of at his home on South Street, and was always on call. All the students, both men and women, lived in Pearsons and Willard. That summer, the dining hall in Willard was shared with the Italian School instead of the Russian School. The movable curtain, not exactly sound-proof, which divided the sections, was dubbed the "Alps" instead of the "Iron Curtain."

The zone of demarcation between the German and French campuses was more difficult to police. German folkdancing at the foot of Pearsons Hill seemed to encroach upon "French" territory. On other occasions, German students found it difficult to remember that they were not alone with their German language as at Bristol. Let Werner Neuse tell it as he did in his 1967 address "Forty Years": "Coming home one night from the 'Cannon', one of the beer joints that our men frequented, they sang with great gusto one of their favorite songs as they were passing between the building of the French School and Willard in whose top floor some of them had their rooms. Aroused from his best sleep, the French School Director stormed over to the German School to complain to its Director. Unfamiliar with the locality, he inquired of a German student where he could find the Director of the school. The German student, likewise not too familiar with the room distribution or somewhat befogged by the late hour and some beers, pointed to the door of the office. While he knocked at that door and shouted repeatedly 'Vernère, Vernère', the colleague of that name was lying in deep slumber at the other end of the hall, completely unaware of the commotion his singing students had created." Neuse put the whole event into the form of a "Moritat" or folk ballad which he sang to the school at the Schlussfeier, and frequently thereafter.

The summer of 1955 was the 25th Anniversary Celebration, and an exciting summer it was. A 25th Anniversary Bulletin was printed and distributed in March, with a picture of Pearsons Hall, its "first and present home" on the cover. It told, in fascinating detail and with illustrations, of the activities in Bristol during the twenty years there, and of the adaptation to the new environment in Middlebury. It was really a triple celebration—forty years since the original founding, 25 years of consecutive operation, and the fifth summer back on the campus. In a courageous section on "The Future", Neuse voiced the determination of the German School to keep standards high, and to maintain Middlebury's unique superiority. Typically, he does not dare to be "too optimistic", but cautiously hopes that the average attendance will continue about that of the years since 1952. Happily, the future soon proved him wrong.

For the first time, a Visiting Professor was invited directly from Germany. He was Dr. Walter Wiora, Professor of Musicology and Archivist of the Deutsches Volksliedarchiv in Freiburg. In his courses, with the cooperation of Dr. Stechow, the German "lied" became the basis for a general presentation of folklore and the "lied's" influence on literature, music and art. The rich program

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included Werner Neuse on Goethe; Harold Lenz on Modern Fiction, and Methods of Teaching; Joachim Seyppel on Rilke; Herbert Lederer on Austrian drama; Fritz Tiller on Phonetics; beside the usual language practice courses.

The FIDES Homecoming Weekend was the focus of the summer's festivities, with a good attendance. Its special drive raised $1178 used to establish scholarship funds in the names of Ernst Feise, and of Arno Schirokauer who had taught here in 1949. A record player and an accordeon for the dancing were presented to the school. A play on the lawn, an exhibit of mementos of Bristol years, and a fine exhibition of folkdancing filled the weekend. The German Government provided the travel expenses of Dr. Wiora, and a gift of valuable books, records and pictures. The Vice-Consul in Boston presented the school with the Schiller Medal.

Just before the session opened, the German School and winter Department offices had been moved from Munroe to the new Language Division headquarters in Hillcrest, along with the expanded Language Laboratory. The offices were larger, and for the first time, the German office had adequate bookshelf and file space. The directors were happy to have the laboratory in the same building, with immediate access to tape recorders for the oral practice courses.

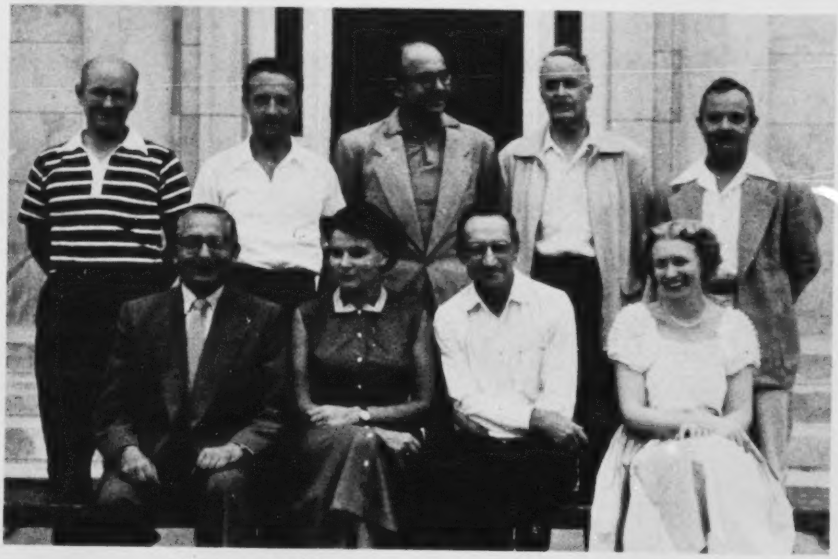
Enrollments in the German School were at full flood tide in 1956, with a 32% gain, to the figure of 79; and another 35% gain in 1957 to a total of 106. This was the largest number in the history of the school thus far; the first time the enrollment had passed the 100 mark. The reasons are multiple. Perhaps the simplest comment is that American public attitudes swing to extremes like a pendulum. The study of German had suffered the worst beating during and after World War II. Now in the general increase in interest in foreign languages in the mid-Fifties, a survey by Appleton-Century-Crofts showed that German had the largest percentage increase. The Foreign Language Program (FLP) of the MLA had begun its campaign in 1953. The results were beginning by 1955 to show a national awakening to the importance of language study.

With particular reference to the Middlebury German School, several other factors may be added. Dr. Neuse had served well the American Association of Teachers of German (AATG), and was elected its President 1952-1955. Then he became Editor-in-Chief of its journal the *German Quarterly* 1957-1962. When at the beginning of the FLP's second three-year grant from the Rockefeller Foundation in 1955, the AAT's were asked to send representatives to the FLP Steering Committee, Neuse joined me as a member of that important group. All this meant the addition of long arduous hours of meetings, correspondence and paper work, but the influence it had upon Middlebury's reputation nationally and its publicity value in recruiting students of German was clearly enormous.

FIDES helped too, with generous contributions to the fund for scholarships, annually about $600. The German Government began an annual grant of DM 10,000 ($2500) which was used for eight full-expense scholarships. In the summer of 1957, forty students received some considerable financial aid: 26 through budgeted and donated funds, plus fourteen waiterships.

In Germany, the reputation of the German School was spreading rapidly. Neuse had been on leave during the first semester of 1955-56, and spent most of the time in Germany. Visiting the Cultural Division of the German Foreign Office in Bonn, he found in its Director, Dr. Trütschler, an understanding official who was of real help. Of great importance was the naming of Dr. Gerhard Storz as Visiting Professor in 1956, with travel paid by the German Government. He was a member of the German Academy for Language and Literature, and Vice-President of the Section for Language. At Middlebury, he taught the central courses on Goethe and Schiller. The Embassy in Washington, through its Cultural Councillor, Dr. Bruno Werner, and the Consulate Office in Boston both cooperated actively with the school, sending representatives to its meetings, special lecturers, and annual gifts of books, records, and slides. The German Government officially recognized Werner Neuse's work in 1957 by conferring upon him the Merit Cross First Class of the Federal Republic; and also the Goethe Medal in Silver of the Goethe Institute München.

The large increase in enrollments required the addition of faculty at almost the last moment, to a total of twelve. Among the teachers new to Middlebury that summer were Dr. Else Fleissner, who had taught at Dr. Stroebe's Mt. Holyoke German School in 1929; and Dr. Karl-Heinz Planitz of Temple University. The language practice courses were heavily elected, and the laboratory was under pressure. The annual rotation of literature and civilization courses was maintained, but the preference was strong for the practical courses. Frustrating shortages of textbooks occurred. The Methods course, given by Dr. Lenz, was accompanied by a FLES demonstration class attended regularly by 17 grade school children.



GERMAN SCHOOL FACULTY, SUMMER OF 1955
Front, l.-r.: Herr Wiora, Fräulein Werner, Herr Neuse, Frau Kiefer. Rear: Herr Lenz, Herr Seyppel, Herr Lederer, Herr Stechow, Herr Tiller

The dormitory arrangements to take care of the unexpected increase each year were difficult and unsatisfactory. Besides Pearsons and Willard, and two floors in the north wing of Gifford Hall (a Spanish dormitory), four small houses were opened for men: McGilton and Voter Houses (where Sunderland now stands), and Atwater House and Homestead at the foot of college hill. A faculty member or senior student served as host, but the distance from Pearsons discouraged many from attending evening gatherings in Pearsons. Other changes made it necessary to share Willard Dining Hall with the Russian School; and the "Alps" again became the "Iron Curtain", adding to the confusion of language "frontiers" on campus.

A dynamic new element entered the history of the German School in 1958, the founding of the Graduate School in Germany. Watching the success of the French and Spanish Schools abroad, Neuse studied the possibilities, and with Mrs. Neuse's help, laid tentative plans for a school in Mainz. His discussions with me culminated in a definite proposal, approved by the trustees in June 1958. Its effect on the German Summer School at Middlebury was more beneficial than any of us had imagined. The appointment of Dr. Friedrich Wilhelm Wentzlaff-Eggebert, Director of the German Institute at Mainz, as Visiting Professor for 1958, was excellent diplomacy. He gave a course on 19th Century Literature, and a seminar on Hesse. A brilliant teacher, he understood American institutions, and was enthusiastic about the Middlebury programs, both here and abroad. His valuable cooperation, at Middlebury again in 1961, and at Mainz, continued through many years.

Special meetings of the students were held during the summer of 1958 to explain and publicize the new school in Mainz, the only American school then in Germany at the graduate level. The summer program was strong, with several new professors, notably Prof. Henry H. H. Remak of Indiana University, later the successor to Neuse; and Prof. Harold von Hofe of the Univ. of Southern California, who had worked with Neuse on the *German Quarterly*. Dr. Fritz Tiller was promoted to the post of Assistant to the Director.

Student enrollment held at 110 with twelve faculty members again. Undergraduates numbered 44, frequently with better preparation than some of the high school teachers. A more stable enrollment made dormitory assignments simpler. The school used only Pearsons for women and Painter for men; and occupied the entire Willard dining hall. Women numbered 56 to 54 men. Stechow's German Art and Lederer's Modern Fiction were popular courses. The Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation made a first grant of an all-expense scholarship; and sent three valuable exhibits of German paintings and art objects. Through German government and FIDES scholarships, and waiterships, 43 students received financial aid. A performance of Büchner's *Leonce and Lena* in the new Wright Theatre was featured in the FIDES weekend. The traditional excursions were made to Mount Philo, Lake Dunmore, and Lake Pleiad.

The session of 1959 was epoch-making. The enrollment gained an extraordinary 41% to a total of 155. The interest generated by the new school in Germany was largely responsible. Orientation meetings were held for the 18 students enrolled for Mainz, for those planning to go in later years, and for others going to Germany on their own. Contacts with Germany and with Mainz increased. The Visiting Professor for 1959 was Dr. Lutz Röhrich, Professor at the University of Mainz, and "Dozent" for Philology and Folklore. All the Mainz students took his course and found him a valuable counselor in Mainz.

The rapid rise in enrollments made many problems. Neuse had to find four additional teachers, for a total of 16. Among the new faces was Walter Lohnes, head of German at Phillips-Andover Academy, with much experience teaching in Germany. He taught the Methods course and helped Miss Sormani with the demonstration class. Four of the five schools on campus conducted demonstration classes made up of village children, providing practical illustrations for our students, and a valuable service to village relationships. A Middlebury graduate, Robert Drummond, of Oberlin, took charge of the musical program and the choir. The Delta Upsilon House was pressed into service as a women's dormitory, but 23 students for whom there was no room still decided to come and live in the village. New course sections had to be created, more classroom space found, and more textbooks ordered. The German Bookstore, handling imports from Germany, grew enomously under the able management of Miss Elizabeth Bischoff, with gross sales of $3500, triple the sales of 1958.

On leave from the college for the first semester 1959-60, Dr. Neuse was the first Director of Studies of the new school in Mainz. His wife, Mrs. Eloise Francke Neuse, was Director of Studies for the second semester. She had been teaching regularly at Middlebury in the academic year, but not in the summer. She cooperated with her husband in the extra-curricular life of the school, and took great interest in the School in Germany, until her death after a brief illness in October 1962.

Many physical changes in the German School of 1960 made the session a rather strange one. Pearsons Hall, long-time home of the school, was withdrawn for modernization and redecoration. With an enrollment increased by 21 more to a total of 176, the school was scattered far and wide. German men occupied Painter and the ground floor of Starr; the women occupied the upper floors of Starr. The two fraternity houses DKE and DU were rented late in the spring and occupied by forty women. The completion of Proctor Hall and its dining room made it possible to assign Upper and Lower Gifford dining rooms to the German School. Willard House (Alumni-Adirondack) was then converted to its Social Hall, general study and meeting place, much larger than Pearsons lounge. Women now outnumbered men 99 to 77; 46 were undergraduates.

The use of DKE and DU Houses for women was unsatisfactory. The students were too far from the center of the school's activity, with consequent absenteeism from meals and meetings. The houses were not suited for occupancy by women students. There were no locks and keys for the rooms; the front door could not be kept locked at night, and the houses were unguarded during the day. Loiterers at night made difficulties. Worst of all, men representing themselves as members of the fraternity, either of this or other chapters, insisted that they had a right to go to the rooms to get supposed belongings or to stay there overnight.

The faculty of sixteen was led by Dr. Gerhard Storz as Visiting Professor, returning from the summer of 1956. He had recently been appointed Kultusminister of the State of Baden-Württemberg, a post similar to but more prestigious than an American State Commissioner of Education. Besides his course on Schiller and a seminar, he gave special lectures on the state of education in Germany, and on the German Theatre with which he was formerly connected as an actor and manager, and now as State's Administrator.

There were several additions to the faculty. Among them were Dr. Werner Haas, then at Springfield College, later Assistant Director of the German School; Dr. Thomas Brandt of Colorado College, teaching Modern Lyrics; Professor Herbert Malecha who came directly from Schwäbisch Hall to give the History course; Dr. Werner Hoffmeister who continued on the faculty for several summers.

Commencement 1960 set a new record for the German School, in presenting the Master of Arts diploma to the twenty students from the Graduate School in Mainz. Previously only a few had received it each summer from the summer school. The honorary degree of Doctor of Letters was bestowed upon Dr. Bruno E. Werner, Botschaftsrat at the German Embassy in Washington, who for many years as Cultural Councillor had been most generous of his personal interest, and in gifts of books, scholarships, and cultural material.

The German School returned in 1961 to its refurbished home in Pearsons Hall, and at the same time kept Painter and Starr Halls, no longer needed by the Russian School. Use of the fraternity houses could thus be discontinued. Enrollment made another great surge, adding 29 more students, to attain the stunning total of 205. This represented a 32% increase in two years, on top of the 41% increase in 1959. The low point of 42 touched in 1953 had thus been quintupled in an interval of eight years. When it is remembered that the average attendance in Bristol was about 75 and never exceeded 85, the growth of the school in Middlebury surpassed the rashest imaginings of us all. The latest increase was made possible by the use of the three large dormitories. Little further expansion was possible in the Upper and Lower Gifford dining halls, so only a few of the 23 students living in town could take an occasional meal at the school.

Responding to the burgeoning enrollment, Neuse engaged a teaching staff of nineteen. Dr. Wentzlaff-Eggebert was again the Visiting Professor; and his wife was most helpful. In the absence on leave of Tiller, Werner Haas was appoint Assistant to the Director. Mrs. Haas, a talented cellist, aided greatly in the concerts of chamber music. Among newcomers were Dr. Hermann Reske of Augustana; Dr. Earle S. Randall of Purdue, and Director of the Boston Modern Language Project; Dr. Hanna Härtle of the Music Conservatory of Göttingen. Dr. Arno Lepke of the University of Akron came back, from the summer of 1953. Robert Drummond organized a splendid student choir. Classrooms, textbooks, study space, dramatics—arrangements for all these were made difficult by the large enrollment.

The Commencement was again an outstanding event. The German School awarded its first Doctorate in Modern Languages, to Edward Diller. In recognition of extraordinary service to the schools, both here and in Mainz, the degree of Doctor of Laws, honoris causa, was conferred on Dr. Wentzlaff-Eggebert. The growth of the school began to show in the larger number of degree candidates. Twenty-four M.A.'s were granted, seven in the regular summer program, and 17 from the School in Germany. The School proudly noted that Dr. Neuse, had been named "Ehrenbürger" or "Honorary Burgess" by the Johannes Gutenberg-Universität, a title granted to non-faculty men for distinguished service to the university.

Having reached the practical maximum capacity of its dormitory and dining room facilities, the German School's enrollment remained more stable for the next three years, rising only slowly to 219 in 1964. Competition from 87 NDEA Summer Language Institutes continued severe. As many as 34 students lived in town in 1963, and this undesirable figure stayed at an average of 30 for several years, even after Allen Hall was completed and one section assigned to the German School. Another small room in Gifford was added to the dining space. Many acceptable candidates were being rejected for lack of room. The number of women gained over the men; in 1964, there were 128 women to 91 men. Undergraduates were cut drastically, from 43 in 1962, down to 19 in 1964.

Improvement in quality of instruction therefore received the major attention. Financial support from abroad aided this effort. Beginning in 1962, the school regularly appointed three Visiting Professors from Europe. Dr. Lutz Röhrich of the University of Mainz, well-remembered for his visit here in 1959, came with expenses paid by the Cultural Division of the German Foreign Office. Dr. Blanka Horacek, "Dozent" in the Germanistic Institut at the University of Vienna, inaugurated a series of Visiting Professors from Austria, with funds provided by the Austrian Government. Dr. Alwin Diemer, also from Mainz, came under the auspices of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. They all gave courses in their specialties: Folklore, Early German Literature, and Philosophy respectively. The latter area was especially important in broadening the rotating civilization courses. The faculty of 19 included Miss Erna Kritsch, Ph.D., University of Vienna, teaching at Douglass College, who taught the Methods course.

The German Government made large grants for scholarships, up to DM 25,000 ($6275). From this sum alone, 43 students were given financial assistance in varying amounts. FIDES and the budgeted funds provided $1500 more. Much of the growth of the German School, both in numbers and in prestige, is due to the generous aid, in influence and in finances, provided by agencies of the German Government.

Interesting analyses were made by Dr. Neuse of the enrollment statistics. In 1962, about 23% of the 207 students came from New York State; 8% from Ohio; New Jersey and Pennsylvania each sent about 6%. Next in decreasing order were Illinois, Massachusetts, and California. Fourteen states sent one student each. Altogether, 35 states were represented. Seven students were Canadian citizens. Actively teaching were 89 students: 23 in colleges, 46 in high schools, 14 in junior high schools, and six in graded schools. Over half of the students had already been in Germany. Further graduate work claimed 74, usually with a teaching objective; but many were looking to other professions: library work, foreign service, U.S. Army, journalism, ministry, music, interpreting, social work.

Three Visiting Professors honored the school again in 1963: Dr. Gerhard Storz, Kultusminister, returning for the third time; Dr. Alfred Kracher, Director of the Deutsche Institut at the University of Graz, Austria; and Dr. Wolfgang

GERMAN SCHOOL FACULTY, SUMMER OF 1967
Frau Neuse and Herr Neuse, third and fourth from left in front row

Panzer, Director of the Geographische Institut at Mainz. Altogether, nine of the faculty came directly from abroad, five from Germany, two from Austria, one from Switzerland. Professor Charlotte Jolles, though German, came from the University of London. The German, Austrian, and Swiss Governments and the Fulbright Commission assisted in defraying travel expenses. At Commencement, the school awarded its second Doctorate in Modern Languages.

Among student memories of the summer were hikes in the Vermont countryside, with Professor Panzer explaining geographical phenomena; and group singing on Mount Philo's lookout point under Fritz Tiller's leadership. Each summer, subject to the weather, excursion-picnics were held at Lake Dunmore, Mt. Philo, and Lake Pleiad above the Snow Bowl. A team from Channel Two of the German Television, with station at Mainz, spent a week in Middlebury "shooting" various activities of the German and other schools for a 15-minute broadcast that autumn in Germany.

The staff of the school in 1964 was the largest in its history: twenty persons teaching, usually two courses each, and thirteen more in the supporting staff, all but one being students earning part of their expenses. The faculty-student ratio was brought down to 1 to 11. Of the 219 students, only 62 had never been in Germany. Over half were teachers, 84 others were students with a German major. A third D.M.L. was awarded at Commencement, along with the extraordinary total of 54 M.A.s (compared with two awarded in 1959). Such statistics give a small indication of the increase in responsibility and paper-work which had devolved upon Neuse in those five years. Adequate secretarial help was a serious problem; over 600 inquiries were handled in the year.

The faculty as usual featured three Visiting Professors: Dr. Lutz Rohrich, specialist in Folklore at Mainz, returning for the third time; Dr. Emmy Rosenfeld, Professor of German in Milan, specialist in Barock Literature and Hoffmannsthal; and Dr. Joseph Strelka from Vienna, formerly literary commentator of the Austrian Radio Corporation, teaching Contemporary Literature. An excellent performance of *Faust I* directed by Dr. Lederer, and six concerts, directed by Robert Drummond, assisted by Mrs. Haas, and with a large student choir, gave pleasure to all the schools.

Werner Neuse must have marked the year 1965 in bright red as a particularly happy and successful year, both for himself personally and for the German School. Many varied events combined to make it outstanding. Foremost among them was his marriage to Miss Erna Kritsch who had been a member of the German School faculty since 1962, teaching the Methods course. Ph.D. from the University of Vienna, she was Associate Professor of German at Douglass College.

The Federal Republic of Germany, which had already bestowed upon Dr. Neuse the Merit Cross First Class, promoted him to the Grand Cross of the Order of Merit, in further testimony to his services as a teacher of German culture. The decoration was presented by the Consul-General of Boston at a special ceremony held in Pearsons Lounge. In a different context, the Modern Language Association elected him First Vice President for the year 1965. He was also named Honorary Member of the American Association of Teachers of German.

Although Neuse passed his 65th birthday in August 1964, Middlebury College requested him by exception to continue teaching in the academic year through June of 1966, as Chairman of the Language Division after my retirement; and to continue as Director of the German Summer School through the session of 1967.

The German School enrollment in 1965 reached its historic highwater mark of 231, an amazing achievement in spite of the limited accommodations. Women numbered 135, the men 96. At my urging, Dr. Neuse did not teach his usual course in Stylistics, or thereafter, because of his heavy administrative load. The now traditional three Visiting Professors were Dr. Gerhard Storz, formerly Kultusminister and now Professor at Tübingen, lecturing on Classical Literature; Dr. Walter Johannes Schröder, a specialist on Medieval Literature at Mainz; and Dr. Hans Hofstätter of Mainz, editor of art history books, lecturing on German Art. Four other teachers came directly from Germany. Dr. Hans Bänziger and his wife came from Switzerland; besides teaching, they coached the fine performance of Tieck's *Der gestiefelte Kater* (*Puss-in-Boots*).

At the Commencement exercises, the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters was conferred on Dr. Gerhard Storz for his inestimable service to the school. Master of Arts candidates numbered 53. The close of school that summer signalled no relaxation but an increased tempo of office activity. All the Language Schools offices had to be moved out of Hillcrest quickly, as the building was reconverted to a dormitory for the opening of college. Books, files, and all the administrative accumulation were transferred or stored in frantic haste. Then on September 29, 1965 the glorious new Sunderland Language Center with its Dana Auditorium was officially dedicated with appropriate exercises. The German School at last had a home worthy of its quality and activities.

In this new setting and in a pattern of organization well standardized, Dr. Neuse's last two summers went very smoothly. Enrollments held steady at 223 and 227. Town students were reduced to 27; undergraduates to three! There were twice as many women as men: 150 to 77. Teaching faculty numbered 18. In 1966, the three Visiting Professors were Dr. Wolfgang Panzer, Emeritus Professor of Geography at Mainz; Dr. Elizabeth Brock-Sulzer from Zurich, drama critic and journalist; and Dr. Gerhart Mayer, of the Dolmetscherinstitut in Mainz. Dr. Lederer directed the play, Dürrenmatt's *Die Physiker* (*The Physicists*), and a Middlebury version of *My Fair Lady* in German. Five chamber music concerts were given, with the participation of Mrs. Haas and Mrs. Cartwright. During the academic year 1966-67, Neuse was not regularly in Middlebury, but he made all the plans for the summer of 1967, ably assisted by Miss Monika Sutter, who acted as Executive Secretary during the year.

Werner Neuse's final summer session of 1967 was a brilliant testimonial to him. Many former colleagues and students visited the school to pay their respects. Nine members of the faculty came directly from abroad. The three Visiting Professors were Dr. Emmy Rosenfeld from Milan, Dr. Ulrich Fülleborn from the University of Erlangen-Nürnberg, and Dr. Hans Siegbert Reiss from Bristol England. Others were Dr. Alfred Kracher, former Dean of Faculty in Graz, returning from 1963; and Dr. and Mrs. Max Lüthi from Zurich. Among the "old faithfuls" were Mrs. Erna Kritsch Neuse, Fritz Tiller, Werner Haas, Herbert and Eva Lederer, Hildegard Tatrangi; and in the staff, Louise Kiefer, Elizabeth Bischoff, Margarethe Cartwright. Through the years, the Study Plan, rotating over a four-year period, came to include 32 regularly scheduled courses, besides many specials according to faculty interests.

A special Convocation was held on Monday, July 24 to celebrate the Fortieth Session of the German School, founded in 1915. Dr. Neuse gave the major address, in German, tracing the development of the school through the forty years, 37 of which—all of its consecutive history—he knew by his personal participation. It was an historic event, the interpretation of the mission of the German School by the man who was in large part responsible for its success, and in sole charge during the last 19 years. One paragraph near the close of his address is especially significant. "The course of the German School through these forty summers is a good mirror of the development of the study of the German language and literature during the same years. If we profited from the unexpected upsurge that the Foreign Language Program of the MLA gave the study of German and all the foreign languages, we here in Middlebury can be proud that through that program the 40-year-old Middlebury Idea triumphed over the stagnation into which language study had fallen. . . . Today in most institutions, it is an axiom that a modern language must be spoken, and that only on the basis of active participation in the speech process a true understanding and penetration of the literature and culture of a foreign country is possible."

On the last Sunday afternoon, August 13, a "Festprogramm in Honor of Werner Neuse" was held in Mead Chapel. It was kept as a surprise from him until the last moment. The program, opened by two soprano arias from Bach and closed by a Bach Cantata with chorus, included a formal speech of farewell by Dr. Gerhard Storz, a special visitor for the occasion; a tribute by myself; and the presentation by Dr. Fritz Tiller of the *Festschrift* published in Neuse's honor by FIDES, under the editorship of Herbert Lederer and Joachim Seyppel. The *Festschrift* contains 15 articles on German literature, dedicated to him by colleagues of the German School faculty. It begins with the text of the tribute which I gave orally that afternoon. Next to last is a description by Wolfgang Panzer of the Vermont landscape seen from Mt. Philo, the school's annual excursion site. It closes with the German text of Neuse's address of July 17: "Vierzig Sommer Deutsche Schule des Middlebury College." The appendix has a bibliography of Dr. Neuse's publications: textbooks, text editions, brochures, and journal articles; a list of 28 titles.

At the close of the session of 1967, Werner Neuse laid down his responsibilities for the German School, put his office in order, and handed over his many duties to his successors. At the Commencement exercises on August 12, 1969, President Armstrong conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Letters, honoris causa. The citation expressing the gratitude of the college, said in part: "Your energy, enlightened initiative, superbly efficient administration, and insistence upon high academic quality are the basic reasons for the notable success [of all our work in German]."

It would have been entirely impossible for Werner Neuse to remain idle. He accepted an appointment at Lehigh University for the spring semesters of the next two years; and then at Eckert College in St. Petersburg, Florida for the spring of 1971. Since then he has made his home in New Brunswick, N.J., where his wife is Chairman of the German Dept. at Douglass College. They travel considerably in Germany. He has continued his work on German textbooks, and has published *Vom Satz zum Aufsatz*. He has prepared new editions of *Deutscher Sprachgebrauch* and *Kleines Aufsatzbuch*. He is now engaged in a study of the history of the stylistic element in German prose known as "style indirect libre."

The phenomenal success of the Middlebury German School in the Sixties is the work of Werner Neuse and the clearest tribute to his leadership. Many circumstances entered the picture, but the primary explanation is Dr. Neuse's insistence upon the highest possible standards of quality, and his extraordinary capacity for plain hard work. Not only as his colleague but as his neighbor, living across the street from him, I had ample opportunity to admire his tremendous activity. For many years his routine responsibilities included the Chairmanship of the German Dept. during the academic year, teaching up to 18 hours a week of literature classes, plus the supervision of majors, and all the usual committee work. He directed a summer school of over 200 students and a graduate school abroad of over 40 students. No other Director of a Language School at Middlebury carried the burden of two schools of this size without the assistance of a Dean. No one knows how many hours he spent on his own "extracurricular" activities, as AATG President and Editor, author of textbooks and articles. Yet he also found time to be an ardent gardener, raising glorious beds of tulips, and an expert on cacti. No wonder that his study light burned very late at night.

Nationally and internationally recognized as a scholar and administrator, his wide acquaintance among leaders of German studies brought much prestige to Middlebury. In Middlebury faculty meetings, in committees, and in the councils of national organizations, he distinguished himself by his intelligence and his firm convictions, vehement where need be. His voice was always on the side of proven quality, realism in the best sense as the basis for progress. He showed strong initiative at the proper times. When criticism was necessary, he set the same high demands for himself as for others. Superb competence and complete devotion to the task characterized his 37 years with Middlebury College and his 19 years as Director of its German School.

HENRY H. H. REMAK
Director of the German Summer School, 1967-1971

Henry H. H. Remak, 1967 - 1971

The retirement of Dr. Werner Neuse as Professor of German at Middlebury College in June 1966 posed the difficult problem of his succession in the three areas of responsibility which he had discharged for so many years. As Professor of German in the winter college, Dr. Kimberly Sparks was appointed beginning with the year 1966-67. He held the Ph.D. from Princeton and had had successful teaching experience there. It was also arranged that he and three other members of the German Department should share and rotate in charge of the Graduate School in Mainz. Professor Sparks felt he should devote full time to those two responsibilities, and preferred not to become involved in specific duties in the German Summer School at that time. After much thought, it seemed to me wisest to return to the arrangement which existed 20 years before in the German School, when Ernst Feise was the Visiting Director and Werner Neuse the Dean; and similar to that in the French and Spanish Schools.

Careful search led us to Dr. Henry H. H. Remak, Professor of German and Comparative Literature, and Chairman of West European Studies at Indiana University. Licencié-ès-lettres at Montpellier, and Ph.D. Chicago in 1947, he had taught in the Middlebury German School in the summers of 1958 and 1960; and had been Visiting Professor at Lille and Wisconsin. He had been Associate Editor of the *German Quarterly* for four years; and was then Editor of the *Yearbook of Comparative and General Literature,* and on the Editorial Board of the P.M.L.A. He was well known for his publications on German and comparative literature, and on the teaching of German. Conversations with him about a possible appointment began in February 1966, and he responded "excited and enthusiastic" in spite of the many previous commitments on his time and energy. A good exchange of views continued during the spring. In mid-July he visited Middlebury for a few days and talked at length with President Armstrong, Dr. Neuse, Dr. Sparks and myself, refreshing his memory of the school, and examining in detail the administrative organization and the new facilities of Sunderland.

New honors changed his plans and ours. Remak was named Fulbright Visiting Professor at the University of Hamburg for the summer semester of 1967, and would stay in Europe until September. He was also named Guggenheim Fellow for the year 1967-68 which he spent on sabbatical leave in Bloomington. It was manifestly impossible for him to be in Middlebury in the summer of 1967, even for a few days. Neuse consented most graciously to postpone his retirement from the Summer School, which was to have been at the close of the 1966 session; and remained in full charge for the exciting session of 1967, marked by its special Convocation for the Fortieth Session, and the Farewell Festprogramm for him.

Henry Remak was therefore appointed Director of the German Summer School effective September first, 1967. His duties had been carefully defined as limited to the academic aspects of the school: recruiting the best possible faculty, planning the curriculum, maintaining a high quality of instruction, controlling the degree programs, along with whatever teaching he wished to do. It was agreed that except for general policies, he would be spared all matters concerning the admission of students, credits, records, and the routine operation of the school.

It had been contemplated that a Dean, resident in Middlebury, would be appointed to attend to this domain. This did not work out; and it was finally arranged that Werner Haas was named Assistant Director for these responsibilities during the summer. He was a graduate of the University of Graz, with the Ph.D. in 1951. He had taught there, and at Springfield College, and was then Associate Professor at Ohio State University. He had been a member of the German School faculty for several summers since 1960, and Studienleiter of our School in Mainz in 1962-63. For the year-round operation, Miss Monika Sutter was appointed Executive Secretary. Educated in Germany and England, she came to us from Princeton. Besides teaching part-time in the winter college, she handled with great efficiency and modesty all the complex operational and logistical procedures of the summer school and the School in Mainz, usually the task of a resident dean. When necessary, she called upon the guidance of Kimberly Sparks, Thomas Huber and myself.

Dr. Remak's primary goal as Director was to maintain and heighten the academic standards of the German School. His first report said: "My policy can briefly be described as quality rather than quantity, and uncompromising stress on the *academic* excellence of Middlebury." To do this, he gave first thought to recruiting a superlative faculty. He wished to strengthen the relationships between Middlebury and the great American universities in the field of German. He reduced the proportion of his faculty coming from abroad, saving some travel expense, and facilitating some increases in salaries. The faculty of 1968 included three Visiting Professors: Dr. Helmut Prang from Erlangen-Nürnberg, Dr. Hubert Ohl from Mainz, and Dr. Peter Boerner from Wisconsin. Other new teachers were Dr. Bruno Hildebrandt and Mrs. Liselotte Hildebrandt, and Dr. Albrecht Holschuh from Indiana; Hanns Steger from the Northfield Schools, Dr. Henry Schmidt, a former student. Returning from previous summers were Mrs. Erna Kritsch Neuse, Dr. Hans Bänziger, Mrs. Louise Kiefer, Gisela Vitt, and others, for a total of 24 faculty members, including wives. A majority of the staff were young and full of zest.

The curriculum was similar to previous summers, except for a greater emphasis on small seminars, of which there were four, for limited enrollment by advanced students, and one pro-seminar as an introduction to the method. One of the seminars was given by Prof. Schmidt on Georg Büchner, keyed skillfully into a fine performance by students of his play *Leonce und Lena* as the major dramatic production. Prof. Hanns Steger, the musical director, gave a new course on German musical history, besides directing a choir. Both the musical and dramatics activities were thus integrated into the academic structure. Dr. Remak began to reduce the number of scheduled extracurricular events where they seemed to demand too much time and energy. The Sunday morning meetings, special lectures and concerts were curtailed; the organized folk-dancing practice and the programmed social evenings were given up. Instead, relaxation and physical sports were encouraged, especially competitions with other schools. Two informal general dances were held. Dr. Remak endeavored to promote maximum student participation in discussions after the evening lectures, and arranged informal discussions on topics of interest to the students.

Dr. Remak set about building the session of 1969 with even greater initiative. As his final report said, the excellence of the school was due to the excellence of the faculty, a successful blend of European and American teachers, of new colleagues and veterans, of tradition and experiment. The three Visiting Professors were Americans: Dr. Wolfgang Leppmann of Toronto, Dr. Egon Schwarz of Washington Univ. St. Louis, and Dr. Wolfgang Wittkowski of Ohio State. From abroad were the Visiting Critic Marcel Reich-Ranicki, writer and lecturer on history and literature; Gérard Schneilin from the University of Paris, the first French Germanist to come here, and destined to become the Director of the German School; Heinz Hillman from Hamburg; Sigrid Lanzrath from Internationes; and Lutz Röhrich, already well known as thrice Visiting Professor from Mainz. Nearly half of the faculty were accompanied by their spouses, who helped as table heads, but sometimes prevented the teachers from associating with the students as much as was desirable.

A number of important innovations were made in the curriculum. Most significant was the creation of a course, in four sections, entitled Introduction to Literary Scholarship. Increasing stress was placed on the study of literary history. Besides the Introduction, eight credits were required in literature for an M.A., including a survey and an advanced seminar course. The faculty was "vehement in demanding that something drastic be done" to remedy the students' lack of command of the basic terms, tools, and methods current in present-day literary scholarship. Secondary school teachers, usually weak in literary history, often knew little or nothing about scholarly research. The Introduction was required for admission to any of the seminars, and for students going to Mainz.

The seminar method, characteristic of a German university curriculum, was expanded in the literary group; of 15 courses, eight were seminars at various levels; one of the four civilization courses became a seminar. Dr. Remak reported, however, that the seminars presented the most difficult problem in the curriculum. To read intensively a large amount of an author's works, plus secondary sources, to develop ideas and perspective, to write a solid paper and have it discussed by the professor and other students—all this can hardly be done in six weeks. Pressure was then put on the students to read at least half of the required books before coming to Middlebury, sometimes without clear assurance that they would be admitted to a "limited" course. Some students warned that the quantity of work demanded in a course should not be so forbidding that it reflects on the quality, and brings about physical and mental exhaustion for both students and faculty.

Other modifications affected the two Language Practice groups. The group called Language was renamed Language Analysis, indicating greater emphasis on linguistics, morphology and philology. The course in Stylistic Analysis was moved into the Literature section, and oriented toward literature rather than toward the language. It was replaced by a course in the History of the German Language, dealing with the historical developments of German linguistic structure, and the relationship of language and literature. The former course in the German Language became Structural Elements of Contemporary German, with attention centered on structural linguistics, and phonemic analysis.

Criteria for admission, enrollment and degrees were raised. No applicant was accepted who could not prove the ability to follow the courses in literature without the need of remedial language practice. Every entering student was urged to take the Introduction to Literary Scholarship, and was required to take it not later than his second summer, in preparation for a seminar in literature not later than his third summer. Every student was required to take three courses, including at least one literature or civilization course. Students were not permitted to drop below three courses in order to avoid a low grade, even if they found they were unable to keep up. The general rule that students were admitted for one summer only and must reapply was strictly enforced; and students who failed a course were not readmitted for the following summer.

It was a stimulating session. The very high intellectual level of the faculty, and the diversified personalities involved made for a lively school atmosphere. A number of faculty-student discussions were arranged, usually following a talk on some controversial topic of German education, life and culture. Student participation was encouraged, and responsive. Answering the need for better reading room facilities, caused by the emphasis on seminars, and the poor ventilation of the college library, the reading library in the basement of Pearsons was amplified, with student supervisors and better shelving. Hanns Steger directed the musical activities and a fine concert in Mead Chapel. Herbert Lederer directed the dramatics, with a reading of a play by the faculty, and an excellent student production in Wright Theatre. Three informal dances were arranged by students, and several movies were shown; but in general, the formal events in the calendar were still further reduced.

The enrollment declined from 221 in 1968 to 192, a drop of 13%. How much of the decline was due to the stricter selection of applicants, and how much to a general trend country-wide, is difficult to say. The Middlebury French and Italian Schools increased; the Russian and Spanish Schools decreased. The number of students living in town was intentionally reduced from 22 to six.

Welcome improvement was made in the dormitory arrangements. The school was more comfortably housed in Pearsons, its headquarters, in one floor of Allen Hall, and in Hadley Hall, newly completed on the ridge beyond Pearsons. Inadequate ventilation on the west side of Hadley on a hot summer afternoon occasioned some complaint, but the new hall was a welcome change from Starr and Painter which the school had occupied for many years.

Problems began early for the summer of 1970. When Dr. Remak accepted the Directorship, it had been agreed that he could be on leave for an occasional summer, and 1971 was contemplated. In the meantime, he had been appointed to the important office of Acting Vice-Chancellor and Dean of the Faculties at Indiana University. In February, he wrote me that at the urgent request of the

Chancellor he must remain on duty in Bloomington during the summer session there, and that he wished to go to Europe after August 8 to attend literary meetings. As a courtesy to Indiana University, his leave of absence was advanced a year, but he remained in full responsible charge of securing the faculty and setting the curriculum and policies for the summer of 1970. He yielded to my plea to make his presence felt at the school; and came for four days at the opening, welcomed the students, and held a faculty meeting. He returned for three days at mid-session, and shared in policy decisions.

Dr. Werner Haas, as Assistant Director, was the head of the school at all other times during the session. Faithfully and with quiet tact, he implemented the policies, and supervised the duties of the faculty and staff. He taught one large course, his popular German History. Assisting him, but without special title, was Dr. Werner Hoffmeister of Brown University, already familiar with the school after four summers here. He was helpful with student interviews, and in the routine administration. To Miss Sutter goes much of the credit for the smoothness of the continuing year-round operation. Haas also felt free to come to me whenever he wanted advice on a special question.

Remak had assembled a strong faculty. Of the 21 teachers, ten had previously taught here; eleven came for the first time. Twelve of them came from Europe, a larger proportion than usual. The Visiting Professors were Dr. Hans Hofstätter, art historian from Baden-Baden; Dr. Helmut Prang from Erlangen; and Dr. Ulrich Weisstein from Indiana. The curriculum continued its emphasis on literature, with seven seminars and seven lecture courses; five sections were needed for the Introduction to Literary Scholarship. Mrs. Neuse gave a new course on the Teaching of Literature on the College Level. The courses in civilization were increased to six, with new courses on German education, music and art. On the other hand, the three courses in Language Analysis were cut to two: the Theory of Linguistics and Phonetics.

There were a few more evening events. Several evening lectures, including one by Werner Neuse, were followed by active discussions with good student participation. Six films were shown. Professor Büthe taught a Theater Workshop, and directed students staging a play by Günter Grass. Music provided the best relaxation. Robert Drummond of Oberlin Conservatory, and a graduate of Middlebury, returned after five years' absence for his twelfth summer as Director of Music. Besides his course on contemporary music, he and Mrs. Isolde Haas gave six recitals. He also directed the official German School Concert, and another one by student volunteers. Pearsons, Allen, and Hadley Halls were again the residences; the dining room was moved to the Freeman Society. The Max Kade Room there, a part of the Max Kade Foundation's generous gift to the college, became a useful study center.

The current wave of "activism" reached the German School in the fourth week, and partially disrupted the harmonious atmosphere. One of the professors gathered about 20 students, without the knowledge of Dr. Haas, to discuss certain "problems" of the school. Out of the meeting came a protocol, distributed to the whole school without permission, advocating the abolition of the Middlebury "no-English" pledge, the evaluation of teachers by students, student representation in faculty meetings, and access to confidential student files. A few days later, a second meeting was called, but when other professors attended, the dissidents walked out. Such activism led inevitably to some polarization and tension. It was noteworthy that the perhaps well-meant but unwise changes were advocated by students at Middlebury for the first time, and by German teachers who were least familiar with American colleges and the bases of Middlebury's reputation. A later evening of discussion, held with a much larger attendance and in a more healthy atmosphere, brought out some constructive suggestions. It was quite plain by the end of the session that few students had any serious grievances.

A different problem was more grave; the enrollment was down from 192 to 150, a decrease of 42 students or 22%. Several of the schools had felt a declining trend, and were down from their highs of 1966-68, but some had begun to recover a little. None showed as drastic a decline as the German School from its high of 231. The ratio of students to instructors in 1970 was seven to one. Even though the tuition had been increased $60 since 1968, the operating deficit of the German School was serious.

It became increasingly important to discover the reasons for this decrease. The very high intellectual quality of the school was unquestioned. Inquiries in response to publicity had been numerous. Late cancellations of accepted applicants, as many as 15 in two weeks before the opening, were discouraging. The reasons most often given were financial, lack of expected funds or aid. All the Middlebury schools, and summer sessions country-wide were feeling the bad economic situation. Colleges and universities were dropping the language requirement, and language teachers were losing their jobs in the secondary schools.

Nevertheless, the fact that the German School showed the worst decline worried me. I feared that the policies aimed at raising the intellectual and linguistic level of the school were being applied too severely. Students were no longer accepted unless they were already fluent in the spoken language and had a thorough knowledge of grammar. Students who failed in a course in one summer were not usually readmitted. The predominant emphasis was on literature. A secondary school teacher who wanted language up-grading, and was for the moment less interested professionally in literary history and scholarship, was either not accepted or could not find courses to make up the required minimum program of three courses. The requirements for the M.A. and D.M.L. were considerably increased.

Dr. Remak proposed for the bulletin of 1970 a statement that the main purpose of the school was to prepare candidates for the M.A. and the D.M.L. degrees, and implying that we welcomed only degree candidates. I pointed out to him that this was contrary to the long-standing policy of all the schools. All our history and traditions were in terms of the improvement of language teaching, the increase of language skills in the national interest, and better international understanding through the richer study of foreign languages and cultures. For this reason we had always announced that "students may enter without examinations and without being candidates for degrees." In other words, we welcome applications from *all qualified* students, regardless of their objective: members of the armed forces, business and professional people, advanced graduate students in another discipline who need the language for residence or research, teachers non-degree-candidates seeking a refresher or preparing for a more profitable sojourn abroad, and for many other purposes. Our priority for admission should always go to the candidates with the best qualifications and the strongest motivation. I saw a real danger in any move, even in the name of higher quality, to convert our Summer Language Schools into a university degree program with its focus on literary scholarship, as a distortion of their basic purpose.

Under the authority of my successor, André Paquette, Henry Remak returned to Middlebury as Director of the German School for the full session of 1971 as agreed. He assembled another distinguished faculty, though smaller, 17 in number. None of them was named Visiting Professor. Werner Haas continued as Assistant Director for 1971. Fewer literature courses were offered, with greater flexibility in the seminars. The Civilization offerings were strengthened; and new courses added in the Language category. The bulletin indicated an interest in programs for teachers and non-majors. The enrollment continued to shrink drastically, to a low of 112, less than half of the figure in 1967.

Burdened with the year-round responsibilities of his high office as Vice-Chancellor and Dean of the Faculties at Indiana University, Dr. Henry Remak found it necessary to resign as Director of the German School. With firm commitment to high ideals, he had brought to it wide international contacts and much prestige. In September 1971, Gérard Schneilin was named the new Director. Agrégé d'allemand, Chairman of German, Academic Vice President of the University of Paris X—Nanterre, he had been a member of the Middlebury German School faculty since 1969. At the same time, Dr. Thomas Huber, Associate Professor at the college, and three times member of the German School faculty, was named Dean of the German Schools, in charge of all the year-round administration of both the Summer School and the Graduate School in Mainz. With enrollments still very low but stable, the German School maintains its place worthily as the oldest of the Middlebury Language Schools, and looks forward to celebrating its Sixtieth Anniversary in 1975.

THE FIFTIES and SIXTIES

The Italian School

Salvatore Castiglione, 1947 - 1975

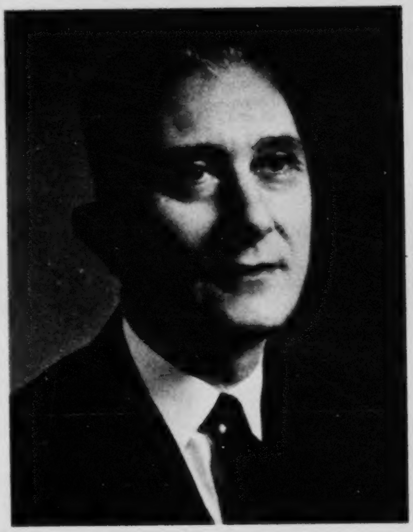
No one could have been better prepared to continue the work of Gabriella Bosano and Camillo Merlino than Salvatore J. Castiglione. He had enrolled as a student in the Italian School in 1937; and Miss Bosano had immediately made him a faculty member teaching the course in Advanced Composition. He taught in the summers of 1938 and 1939, giving the courses in Poetry and Composition-Grammar. His wife Pierina had come with him in 1938; she became a member of the faculty in her own right in 1939. During the war years, they were absent for six summers; their daughter Vanna was born; he taught in the Army Specialized Training Program at Rutgers, and in the summer courses at Yale. They continued their contact with Middlebury, however; and returned in the summer of 1946 as two of Merlino's staff of four. He taught the Poetry course, and she gave a new one called the Formation of the Italian People and Nation. They came for a visit in 1947.

This familiarity with the Middlebury Italian School supplemented his brilliant and thorough professional preparation. He was born in New Haven, Conn. in 1910, and received his A.B. from Yale in 1932. He won an Italian-American Exchange Fellowship for a year of graduate study in Florence in 1934-35. He had begun his work for the doctorate, while translating Italian texts for the Yale Department of Drama. His thesis was on the Poetry of Franco Sacchetti of the 14th century. Having completed his Ph.D. degree from Yale in 1939, he was appointed to an instructorship there, interrupted by the year at Rutgers; and was promoted to an Assistant Professorship in 1947. He had translated Benedetto Croce's *Politics and Morals,* and other literary selections, and had written many articles and reviews for the journals.

Dr. Castiglione had therefore the ideal three-fold preparation for the new task: an excellent scholarly training, experience in the best procedures of language teaching, and several years of personal contact with the distinctive spirit of the Italian School at Middlebury. With extraordinary dedication, skill, and modesty, he has led the Italian School through nearly three decades of difficult times and great success.

Pierina Borrani Castiglione is a most valuable partner and colleague. They met on shipboard as he was on his way to Italy on his fellowship, and they studied together in Florence, her home. She had won her Dottore in Lettere from the University of Florence in 1930, and the Diploma di Perfezionamento a year later, then the Diploma di Abilitazione for the teaching of literature and history, in Rome in 1933. Coming to this country, she earned the Master's de-

SALVATORE J. CASTIGLIONE
Director of the Italian Summer School, 1947-1975; Member of its faculty from 1937; Professor of Italian, Middlebury College, 1966-1975



gree in American history from Smith in 1936, and was then named instructor in Italian at Wellesley. They were married in Wellesley in 1938, and he brought his June bride to Middlebury that summer, although she did not teach. She was a member of the faculty in 1939, 1946, and regularly from 1950 on. Her superior academic training enabled her to teach with great success many of the school's advanced courses, particularly in civilization, history, and phonetics. She has also been a splendid hostess for the school. Her radiant personality, enthusiastic and fun-loving, presided over the social gatherings, while with authority cloaked in tact, she supervised the many undergraduate girls, and coached the dramatics activities.

Named Director of the Middlebury Italian Summer School in November 1947, Dr. Castiglione planned the session of 1948 following the pattern that Dr. Merlino had set. He reappointed Miss Grazia Avitabile of Mount Holyoke, later the successor of Miss Bosano at Wellesley. She was unable to return as a teacher after 1948, but continued to be a loyal friend and supporter of the school. For his Visiting Professor, he secured Dr. Enzo Tagliacozzo of Wheaton, known for his research in Italian history, and as a radio commentator. Another important newcomer was Mrs. Bianca Calabresi, Doctor from the University of Bologna, teaching Oral Stylistics and the General View of Italian Culture. Paolo Cella, Doctor from the University of Pisa, completed the faculty of five. Now a top-flight economist in Milan, Cella returned years later for a series of lectures.

The language courses comprised Intermediate and Advanced Grammar and Composition, and three oral courses: intermediate, advanced and oral stylistics. No courses were given in philology or methods, but the offerings in literature were increased. Dr. Tagliacozzo taught the Risorgimento, and the poetry of the 19th century. Miss Avitabile gave the Modern Novel. Castiglione himself continued the Dante course, the *Paradiso* this year, the *Inferno* and the *Purgatorio* in successive summers. He followed and developed the practice, current in the German and Russian Schools as well, of rotating the necessary courses in literature and culture, since not many could be given each year. Over a period of five or six years, however, a surprisingly large number, as many as 20 different periods and authors were covered, while giving in alternate years the basic "Survey" courses called General View of Italian Culture I (13th to 16th centuries) or II (17th to 19th).

The enrollment declined from 56 to 32 in 1948, evenly divided between men and women, a serious disappointment for Castiglione. I was less alarmed, for I saw three possible explanations. In a small school like this, a new director is obliged to create to some extent his own following. This was begun satisfactorily with 18 new students. Many of the students in 1947 had been candidates for the M.A., returning especially to complete the degree under Merlino. This was also the first summer after the war that travel and study in Italy were encouraged; and many former students of the school went to Italy.

Except for numbers, the session was completely successful. The Sigma Phi Epsilon House was the school's center and the Castigliones lived there. DKE House was the dining room and men's dorm; women lived in the Chi Psi Lodge. A delightful "festa delle matricole" was instituted, patterned after the initiation ceremonies at an Italian university, for the purpose of getting acquainted, and giving the new students an opportunity to show their talents. It became a regular feature in succeeding summers. There was a concert of instrumental and vocal music featuring Ruth Lakeway, who had completed her M.A. the previous summer, but returned frequently to delight large audiences with her magnificent soprano voice. The students organized a "serata di varietà"; and a successful auction, the proceeds of which augmented the scholarship fund. An all-student cast performed the American première of *Questi fantasmi*, a three-act play by contemporary Eduardo De Filippo, whose plays were often presented in later summers.

A curious episode occurred which illustrates how the emotions of the war still lasted. Winter session members of the DKE fraternity objected to the Italian flag being flown from the mast in front of the DKE House, especially because it was near a memorial boulder dedicated to brothers killed in the war. The boys were entirely courteous but it was evident that the flag was still a hostile symbol. Permission was eventually secured from the SPE House to fly the flag there. Similar feelings prevented the display of the German or Russian flags anywhere on campus; and even the French flag in front of the Château was flown only under carefully prescribed conditions. Of course there was never any proposal to fly a Spanish flag, for it would have had to be accompanied by a score of South American flags.

A nearly new faculty marked the session of 1949, the director and Mrs. Calabresi being the only returnees. Dr. Giuliano Bonfante, eminent Professor of Linguistics at Princeton was the Visiting Professor. He taught the History of the Italian Language, and the Epic Poetry of the Rinascimento. Dr. Maria Arrighi, Instructor at Connecticut College, introduced a new and much needed course in Phonetics. Dante was featured in two courses, the *Inferno* by Dr.

Castiglione, and the *Opere minori* by Dr. Rigo Mignani, Instructor at Harvard. The curriculum was expanded to seven courses in the language and six in the area of literature and culture. The rising level of student preparation and contact with Italy justified an increase in the courses in literature, especially to amplify the long-run rotated curriculum.

The extracurricular program was varied and colorful. Outstanding was the Serata Medicea, in commemoration of the 500th anniversary of the birth of Lorenzo de' Medici. The text was written by Mrs. Castiglione; the scenes were staged in the costumes of the period. The dynamic and popular Rocco Mastrangelo, who had been a student here as far back as 1936, was in charge of the social activities, and led the singing. He died not long afterward, and his many friends honored him in a Memorial Scholarship. In 1950, Goldoni's three-act play *Le baruffe chiozzotte* (The Quarrelsome Women of Chioggia) was staged in the Playhouse. The Italian School joined the others in a memorable supper sail on Lake Champlain in the S.S. Ticonderoga.

In 1950, Mrs. Pierina Castiglione, who had taught during Merlino's directorship, became a regular member of the faculty, teaching every summer except 1961. Seeing the crucial place of the study of phonetics in the preparation of teachers, she devoted herself enthusiastically to this subject, and became an expert on Italian phonetics, using to the full the resources of the Middlebury laboratory. In 1957, she published a very useful textbook, *Italian Phonetics, Diction, and Intonation*. The Visiting Professor, Dr. Vittorio Ceroni of Hunter College, gave the course on Manzoni. Two new recruits who returned also in later years were Mrs. Regina Soria, graduate of the University of Rome, and Dr. Mauro Calamandrei from the University of Florence.

Enrollments declined slowly, discouragingly, as in all the Middlebury Schools, as in all summer schools nationwide. From 30 in 1949 to 25 in 1950, the low point was reached at 22 in 1951. The number of men decreased noticeably: from eight veterans in 1949 there was only one in 1950. Three fraternity houses were used at first; in 1951 only the DU and SPE Houses were needed. There was no defeatism in the air, however. The small group was closely knit in its corner of the campus, homogeneous and of good quality. The new students, about half each year, were readily acclimated. The evening sings, stunt and skit programs generated enthusiasm; the plays were a whole-school effort. The entire atmosphere of the school, in staff and students alike, was characterized by vitality and initiative.

I was worried, nevertheless, about the viability of so small a school as a separate unit, from the financial point of view. In early April 1951, only two students had made reservations. I wrote to Castiglione in Italy about the difficulty of justifying a separate school, with its own faculty, dormitories and dining hall, operating at a loss. The Music Conference, which had run for three summers, was closed in 1951, largely because it had been losing money. I was still convinced of the need of instruction in the Italian language and literature as an integral part of our program in the Romance Languages, but I feared it might have to return to its status as a ward of the French School, as it had begun in 1931.

Changes were in the wind, however. The Castigliones returned, full of en-

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licity from the award in 1951 of the first Doctorate in Modern Languages in Italian to Frederick H. Jackson, an instructor at Syracuse University. The general downward trend, caused largely by the national economic situation and the Korean War, continued to affect the Italian School however. The enrollment in 1954 declined to 35, and to another low point of 29 in 1955, before reacting strongly again.

A part of the Italian School's difficulties was the result of highly unsatisfactory physical arrangements for dormitory and dining room. The fluctuations and the small number involved reduced the school to the DU and SPE Houses. They were usually in poor condition when rented to the college for July and August. There were many complaints from summer students about the furnishings, bad odors, and unauthorized visits from fraternity members. Then when enrollments increased, temporary makeshifts had to be arranged at the last moment, causing great damage to the image of the school.

My report on the session of 1953 called urgent attention to the problem of the allocation of dormitory and dining space for all the schools, and particularly for the Italian School where the situation was the worst. The cardinal principle of our language schools' organization, and an essential basis of their reputation, is the segregation of each school from the others and from English; and the concentration of each school into a close-knit unit, with its own centralized dormitory, dining room, lounge, classrooms and extracurricular facilities. That summer, because of enrollment fluctuations, and under pressure to use college facilities instead of renting fraternity houses, the Italian School lost its concentration, and was scattered in a long thin line from one end of the campus to the other, partly in DU and SPE, partly in Painter and Willard, taking its meals in West Forest. It had no place to gather before or after meals, since the corridors and steps of West Forest belonged to the French School. Faculty and students living in Painter or Willard were reluctant to trek back to the SPE House after meals for the traditional half-hour of songs, "bocce", and informal chatting.

It was not until 1955 and the completion of Battell Center, that new isolated centers could be created for all the schools. The serious problem of the Italian School was then solved by giving it the exclusive use of West Forest, with dormitory, dining hall, lounge and director's office all under the same roof. Once again, Dr. Castiglione was able to create the close unity and congenial family spirit that has characterized the Italian School.

During the difficult years of 1951-54, Castiglione economized in every justifiable way. His teaching staff numbered five: himself, his wife, and three others. For three years, he named no Visiting Professor, although Professor Valentine Giamatti from Mt. Holyoke, Ph.D. Harvard, Dottore in Lettere, Univ. of Florence, who had been Visiting Professor in 1951, returned in 1952 and again in 1956, a skillful teacher and a warm rich personality. Middlebury has recently been happy to welcome his son, Prof. A. Bartlett Giamatti of Yale, to the Bread Loaf faculty.

The staff was small but the academic fare was rich. Dr. Castiglione continued the rotation of Dante and His Times. Mrs. Castiglione developed her specialty of Italy and the Italians, besides continuing Phonetics. Mrs. Calabresi taught the Culture course and the Ottocento. Calamandrei offered a new course on Leopardi. Giamatti taught the Trecento and directed the rollicking three-act contemporary play *Marionette, che passione.* In 1953, Mrs. Soria surveyed Italian Poetry; Dr. Aldo Scaglione from Berkeley treated Prose of the 16th Century.

Since the Methods course had not been given for several years, Castiglione organized a series of evening discussions on the teaching of Italian. In the following two summers a regular three-weeks course was given, for one credit. Many students from the other schools came as auditors to the school, and eight enrolled in Italian courses for credit. At the 1953 Commencement, two students, Miss Philomena Golini and Joseph Figurito, were proudly awarded the Doctorate in Modern Languages. Most helpful for several summers, both in the director's office and in the extracurricular activities, was Miss Josephine De Simone.

The surprise of 1954 was the number of men enrolled, 19 as against 16 women. This was highly unusual, as the average ratio was about five women to three men. Men tended to have the majority after the war in the German and Russian Schools, but a definite minority in French and Spanish. The rather wide fluctuation in the Italian School in those years finds no easy explanation. A notable addition to the faculty was James Ferrigno, Ph.D. Boston Univ., Associate Professor at the Univ. of Mass., who taught both philology and literature courses in 1954 and 1955. Dr. di Sorbello, then Italy's Cultural Attaché, and a constant friend of the school, returned for the fourth annual meeting of the Alumni, and lectured on d'Annunzio.

An examination of the records showed that of the 20 teachers awarded Fulbright Grants for the first Summer Seminar in Italy, seven were graduates or former students of the Middlebury Italian School. Another received a Fulbright Grant for a year's study in Florence; another a U.S. Govt. Grant to teach English in Rome; and a third was awarded an Italian Govt. Fellowship for a year's study in Padua.

The installation of the Italian School in West Forest in 1955 gave it the aura of success, even though the enrollment was down to 29. Close community of activity, and a warm congeniality—these were the distinctive ingredients of the school, and they prospered in the new location. Once more a Visiting Professor was named, Dr. Roberto Lopez of the University of Genoa, and Yale, giving courses in his specialty of history. Miss Norma Fornaciari, graduate of Bologna, and Secretary-Treasurer of the A.A.T.I., led a study of the Trecento. Her half-course in the Teaching of Italian was amplified by a delightful little demonstration class of grade-school pupils, so successful that it was continued for many summers. Her popularity is attested by the Memorial Scholarship in her name, after her untimely death in 1960.

The Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the founding of the Italian School was celebrated in 1956. It was indeed a "red-letter" session. Colleagues and alumni on all sides joined in supporting Dr. Castiglione to make it a great success. The enrollment more than doubled, up to 66, 40 women and 26 men, the largest in the history of the school thus far. The explanation was four-fold: a rich academic program, intensive publicity, attractive quarters in West Forest, and a generous supply of scholarships.

The distinguished Dino Terra, playwright and journalist from Rome, announced as the Visiting Professor, was taken ill in the middle of his journey here, and had to return to Rome. Dr. Valentine Giamatti replaced him at the last moment, without the title. Mrs. Rosa Trillo Clough from Hunter gave the Teaching of Italian and the demonstration class. In the sixth week the class presented an entertaining skit showing the remarkable progress these beginners had made in fluency and pronunciation. Other members of the faculty were Miss Olga Ragusa from Columbia, Arnolfo Ferruolo from Harvard, and Mrs. Marisa Lederer from the Putney School. Mrs. Castiglione's course in phonetics was greatly aided by the facilities of the new Language Laboratory being developed in Hillcrest. Twelve courses were offered, six in language, five in literature, and Methods, besides the supervision of individual research.

A special Anniversary Bulletin was published, containing a description of the school and its work by Dr. Castiglione. Professor Herbert Golden of Boston University, then President of the Alumni Association, wrote an article for *Italica,* April 1956, recounting in interesting detail the twenty-five years of the school. This article was reprinted and distributed, along with bulletins and personal letters, by the active alumni group, to all possible prospective students. Castiglione was elected President of the A.A.T.I. for that year.

Great impetus was given to all these activities by the generosity of Dr. Cesare Barbieri, an elderly inventor in New York. He became deeply interested in the Italian School, at the suggestion of Sam P. Davis, Middlebury '21. He visited Middlebury and received the honorary degree of Doctor of Science at the August 1955 Commencement. After conversations with Castiglione and me, he made a gift of $6000 to the Italian School, and later, through the Barbieri Foundation, a gift of $45,000 to Middlebury College. His generous support made possible a Visiting Professor from Italy, a series of special lectures and concerts, ten full-expense scholarships for 1956, and ten tuition scholarships for several years thereafter. We were all saddened by his sudden death shortly before the session opened.

Scholarships were part of the secret of the large enrollment in 1956. They were the concrete evidence of the support given by the school's many friends. Besides the scholarships from the Hartford groups, then in the 17th year, the "Il Solco", the Mastrangelo Memorial and the Alumni Scholarships, Mrs. Lena Wolff continued to give three scholarships, and four were offered for the third year by the Cultural Division of the Italian Embassy. The ten given by Dr. Barbieri made a total of 22. The publicity given to these scholarships brought students from 16 states, including Florida, California, Illinois, Arkansas and Indiana.

The session was filled with interesting happenings. The Alumni held a gala reunion weekend with a banquet attended by 73 persons, including Dr. Vitelli, the Consul General in Boston, and Dr. and Mrs. Merlino. The all-student production was Tasso's *Aminta,* a pastoral in verse, presented with musical accompaniment and ballet sequences on the lawn below Gifford. An excellent vocal concert by professionals and a chamber music recital by students both featured Italian music. Dr. Gica Bobich, a newspaper woman, gave three illustrated lectures on life in Southern Italy. A questionnaire circulated among members of the school showed strong interest in the possibility of a Graduate School in

Italy, with preference expressed for Florence. Castiglione therefore began to urge the early establishment of such a school.

After the Anniversary, we were not surprised to see the enrollment shrink a bit in 1957, back to what we used to consider a normal figure of 41. Once more the men puzzled us by outnumbering the women, 21 to 20. The Visiting Professor was Dr. Rocco Montano of Harvard, literary critic and editor of the review *Delta,* lecturing on Manzoni. An illustrated course on Modern Painting was given by Mrs. Clough. Nine scholarships offered by the Cultural Division raised the total available to 27. Maria Luisa Faini, a gifted pianist, gave a most delightful concert with selections from European composers for all the Middlebury schools. General demand brought her back summer after summer, for a total of eleven years, the record of popularity at Middlebury. Her faultless technique, dramatic verve, sensitivity, and charming personality made her concerts a high point in each summer's musical program.

We were wrong about the "normal" enrollment in Italian, for in 1958 the figure rebounded to 57. In the unpredictable ratio of the sexes, the women outnumbered the men 43 to 14. From then on, the Italian enrollment never fell below 55, and for the next ten years averaged 66. The depression in language study had "bottomed out", and a countrywide renewal of interest began. All the Middlebury Language Schools gained slightly in 1958, more rapidly in successive years as the Foreign Language Program of the M.L.A. and the federal N.D.E.A. Institutes dramatized the importance of foreign language study. Much credit should also be given by the Italian School to the efforts of its loyal Association of Alumni and Friends. Many students came through its influence from centers of Italian-American population, as in New Haven, Hartford, and New York City. A high proportion of the students were teachers or preparing to teach, 37 out of the 57.

Dr. Mauro Calamandrei, the first Professor of American History at the University of Florence, returned from 1952 as Visiting Professor, teaching Modern Italian Culture, and Contemporary Italy. A new recruit for three summers was Mrs. Margherita Dinale from Smith, and Director of its Junior Year in Italy. The new Cultural Attaché, Dr. Filippo Donini, lectured at the school. The Voice of America sent a reporter who recorded interviews with faculty and students, on tape for broadcast on national radio hookups in Italy. The school rejoiced in the completion of Wright Memorial Theatre. Instead of presenting the plays outdoors on the lawn, subject to the hazards of the weather, Mrs. Castiglione directed in Wright a splendid student performance of the contemporary De Filippo's three-act *Bene mio e core mio.* Students were encouraged to fill practically all the roles in such performances each summer, primarily as a valuable exercise in the language—pronunciation, diction, vocabulary—well worth the time spent in rehearsals.

In response to a persuasive letter of March 4 from Castiglione, I authorized him to submit to President Stratton and the Trustees a formal proposal for a Graduate School of Italian in Italy, giving full details and specifications along the lines we had discussed. Intensive planning continued into the spring of 1959. It was again proudly noted that of the 20 teachers of Italian granted Fulbright Awards for a summer seminar in Italy, eight had been students at Middlebury;

Fulbright Awards for pre-doctoral study went to two alumni; and two received other awards for study in Italy from Columbia or from the Italian Government.

The mounting wave of interest in foreign languages pushed the enrollment in 1959 to 65, with a gain chiefly in the men—21 to 44 women. The Visiting Professor was Dr. Roberto Lopez of Yale, so successful here in 1955. He taught courses in Early Italian Culture, and in the Modern Theatre. The Teaching of Italian was given with great success by Mrs. Anna Nolfi, teacher of Italian and Spanish in Rochester, who was borrowed from the Spanish School. There were also excellent panel discussions on the problems peculiar to the teaching of Italian. Mrs. Castiglione published an article in the December 1959 *Italica,* giving the gist of these discussions. The usual curriculum was now 13 courses: six in the language—two levels of written, two levels of oral, phonetics, stylistics; six literature-culture; and the Methods course. Classes were held in Munroe, ground floor; in Hillcrest; and in West Forest Salon.

Outside the classroom a well-filled calendar included picnics to Texas Falls and Ripton Gorge; two one-act plays directed by Mrs. Castiglione; a lecture on Italian Masks and a series of dramatic readings by Fausto Tommei, a leading Italian actor; the Faini concert; and the ninth annual meeting of the Alumni. This Association made a fine contribution to the Middlebury Library Fund, memorializing Miss Bosano by a plaque in the Italian section of the stacks.

Dr. Nicholas Locascio, a psychiatrist in New York City, became a new friend and generous supporter of the school. Following a brief visit in 1958, he enrolled as a regular student, and for more than a decade, he was one of the most enthusiastic participants in the entire program. He began at once to make

ITALIAN SCHOOL OF 1959
Director and Mrs. Castiglione, seventh and eighth from left in second row

generous gifts to the scholarship funds, increasing them later to aid students in the Graduate School in Italy. His dynamism and hearty love of good fun were a joy in every gathering of the school, and especially in the alumni meetings.

Honors were coming to the Castigliones. He was named Acting Director of the Institute of Languages and Linguistics at Georgetown for the year 1959-60. She became the Editor of the new *Il Giornalino*, an attractive little school newspaper for Italian classes, filled with information and teaching materials on Italian life and culture. Most of the editorial staff and contributors were associated with Middlebury. During the winter of 1958-59, she taught at Smith, and *Il Giornalino* was first published in Northampton. In 1959-60 and 1962 she was Lecturer in Italian at Georgetown. *Il Giornalino* awarded a scholarship to a Middlebury summer student for several summers.

The session of 1960 operated on a high key of excitement. The Graduate School in Italy had been approved; the announcement had been published widely, in an attractive bulletin whose cover showed the medallions of the four Schools Abroad. Ten students were already enrolled for their preliminary summer; orientation meetings were held, including other students hoping to go in later years. Dr. and Mrs. Castiglione were in charge for the school's first year 1960-61; they sailed for Florence soon after the session. Since her home is in Florence, it was almost like taking the students to her home.

The Visiting Professor was particularly helpful that summer. Dr. Giulio Vallese of the University of Naples, editor of the literary review *Le Parole e le Idee*, taught the Renaissance Theatre, and the Short Story of the 16th Century. For years afterward, until his recent death, he published articles about Middlebury and its program, and sent gifts of books to the college library. Mrs. Nolfi, again loaned by the Spanish School, taught Methods and a lively demonstration class of 12 students in the 8-13 year age group.

At the request of the MLA, many of the students took on a voluntary basis two batteries of seven tests each, at the beginning and end of the session, to aid in establishing normal scores for the N.D.E.A. Institutes. For the all-student performance of the pastoral drama in verse *La favola di Orfeo* by Poliziano, Dr. Vallese wrote a special prologue in verse. Striking and effective sets were built by the students in Wright Theatre. At Commencement, the school was proud to award the D.M.L. to Miss Zina Tillona and Henry Capasso.

Castiglione returned from Italy in June full of enthusiasm to find the 1961 session enrolling the largest number up to that time, 69, of whom 50 were new students, many of them attracted by the prospect of a year in Italy. Scholarships were not as numerous as in 1956, but the generosity of old friends, the Alumni, *Il Giornalino*, the Barbieri Foundation, Mrs. Lena Wolff, and Dr. Locascio, along with two new grants from the Istituto di Cultura, still supported 17 needy students. The large enrollment was a surprise, since the competition of 72 N.D.E.A. Institutes, several in Italian, giving full tuition, board, travel and dependent subsidies, was expected to entice away many of the Middlebury clientele. The N.D.E.A. competition for our faculty, paying much higher salaries, was even more serious, and forced us to raise tuition fees. The budget crunch was especially difficult for our smaller schools like the Italian, where the instructional cost per student was greatest, second only to the Russian School. The capacity enrollment was therefore a great boon. West Forest was not large enough; Knapp House and the Homestead on Weybridge St. took the overflow.

The Visiting Professor, Dr. Elio Gianturco of Hunter, was familiar with the school since his summer here in 1947. Author, specialist in intellectual history and the arts, he taught the Unification of Italy, in honor of the Centenary celebration, and Italian Music. A valuable addition was Miss Giuliana Cavallini, Doctor of the University of Rome, scholarly and charmingly modest, who became one of the school's most effective teachers for many summers. The Spanish School being no longer able to lend Mrs. Nolfi, the Teaching of Italian and its demonstration class were successfully handled by Miss Annunciata Costa of Newburgh Free Academy. Her sister Joan became the secretary of the school. The Costa sisters contributed greatly to the school for many years by their charm and effective service. New also to the faculty was an alumnus, Alfred Alberico, Middlebury, M.A. 1953, and Ph.D. Yale, coming from San Francisco State; future director of the school.

For the next three years, the Italian School followed a standard pattern. The enrollment held steady at about 67, the maximum capacity of its dining room. Greater pressure of applications compensated for a slight decrease in scholarship money. The large number of new students, averaging fifty each summer, appeared to be attracted by the new School in Italy, or recruited by the energetic campaigns of the Alumni Association. About one fifth of the students were undergraduate seniors, carefully selected from major colleges, usually as well prepared as the older students, and often a great addition to the animation of the social life.

A special personality was given to the 1962 session by the vivacious Visiting Professor Mrs. Biancamaria Tedeschini Lalli, Professor at the Univ. of Rome. She was head of a section of the American Commission for Cultural Exchange with Italy and in charge of the Fulbright grantees in Perugia. Her familiarity with American students, her competence in applied linguistics and teaching methods, and especially her zest for participation in the school's life, made her particularly successful.

The school had the great honor of welcoming as Visiting Professor in 1963 Dr. Giacomo Devoto, Professor of Linguistics at the University of Florence, one of Italy's outstanding scholars. He later became Rector of the University of Florence. He taught the History of the Italian Language, and the Prose of Benedetto Croce. His wife, Mrs. Olga Rossi Devoto, was also a member of the faculty, teaching the Italian Epic, and Stylistics. Doctor of Letters from Pavia, she had taught Fulbright students, and was for ten years President of the Literature Section of the Lyceum of Florence. She accepted the appointment as Director of Studies of our Graduate School in Florence for the second semester of 1962-63 and for several full years thereafter. Both Dr. and Mrs. Devoto shared actively in the school's program and became well acquainted with the students personally.

The rotating curriculum maintained its richness: two courses each in written and oral Italian; the Phonetics by Mrs. Castiglione; Stylistics and the culture course, now called Civilization I and II, by Miss Cavallini; Methods by Miss Costa. The Research course continued to be important for the group of D.M.L.

candidates. Other courses rotated were the trio of Dante, Prose Masterpieces, Survey of Poetry, the Short Story, Leopardi, Goldoni, Contemporary Novel.

Allen Hall, completed in 1964, opened ten double rooms to the Italian School, replacing the less comfortable Knapp House and Homestead. The Castigliones lived in the resident's apartment in Allen and supervised the joint use of the house by several schools. The traditional activities continued in each session: the "festa delle matricole" or getting-acquainted party; the lively singing of folk-songs; the two picnics at Lake Dunmore; the ever popular piano concert by Miss Faini; the three-act all-student play in Wright Theatre, coached by a member of the faculty; the annual Alumni week-end with dinner at the Inn; "bocce" games, movie films, the new Arthur Brown Swimming Pool.

The celebration of the 700th anniversary of the birth of Dante gave the summer of 1965 a special character. The Visiting Professor was Dr. Giuliano Innamorati of the University of Florence, and teacher in the orientation program of our Graduate School. He taught the *Purgatorio*, and Contemporary Poetry. Dr. Ruggero Stefanini, graduate of the University of Florence, teaching at Berkeley, gave Dante's *Opere minori* and the History of the Language. Professor Valentine Giamatti brought his precious collection of old editions of the *Divine Comedy* for a private showing and talk at the school, and then a two-week exhibit at the library. There were also special evening lectures on Dante. Students receiving the Master's degree were each given an annotated edition of the *Divine Comedy* through the kindness of Dr. Cardillo, the Cultural Attaché.

The Castigliones returned to the session of 1965 fresh from their year in Florence, where he had directed the Italian Studies in the Syracuse Semester Program, and she had been in charge of the Middlebury Graduate School. The faculty numbered eight, adding Remo Trivelli, M.A. from the school in 1957, and candidate for the Doctorate. Thirteen courses were listed. The slight increase in teachers and courses, and a much needed increase in faculty salaries were made possible by a $25 increase in tuition. The dramatics program was distinguished by the performance of Pirandello's *Sei personaggi in cerca d'autore* and a reading of Machiavelli's *Mandragola*. The Alumni gave three special scholarships in memory of Miss Gabriella Bosano, who had died in September. Professor Herbert Golden, long friend of the school, gave one in memory of his wife.

At Commencement, Professor Charles Singleton of Johns Hopkins received the degree of Doctor of Humane Letters, honoris causa. President Armstrong saluted him as "the outstanding American Dante scholar and teacher." Master's degrees were awarded to 24 Italian candidates, the largest number in the school's history up to that time, four from the summer school and 20 from Italy.

Two important developments gave the session of 1966 cause for rejoicing. Dr. Castiglione, at Georgetown since 1951, accepted in March the appointment as Jean Thomson Fulton Professor of Italian at Middlebury College. Effective September first, he was thereafter located at Middlebury, winter and summer, continuously present to preside personally over plans for the summer, both academic and physical, and to coordinate the instruction in Italian during the year with the summer program and the year abroad. Eventually he was able to arrange an undergraduate major in Italian, combining winter and summer study.

He was immediately accepted by the winter faculty as an able and congenial colleague. His presence on the campus during the winter made my work for the Italian School much more effective and pleasant.

In September 1965, the Edwin S. S. Sunderland Language Center and Dana Auditorium had been dedicated. The Italian School offices were located on the second floor, and could take full advantage of all the Center's coordinated services. The Phonetics course of Mrs. Castiglione was one of the most assiduous users of the Freeman Laboratory and its modern equipment. The program of films and documentaries welcomed the comfort and quality of the Dana Auditorium.

The 1966 Visiting Professor was Dr. Carlo Mastrelli, distinguished Professor of Glottology at the University of Florence. He gave the History of the Italian Language, and Modern Prose Writers; and mixed unusually well with the students. Also new to the faculty were Dr. and Mrs. Clavio Ascari, of Mary Washington College, who proved very helpful and returned for several summers. Miss Zina Tillona of Boston University, Middlebury D.M.L. 1960, taught the Methods course. Miss Cavallini gave a new and popular course on Italian Art. Mrs. Vanna Francia, the Castigliones' daughter, came as secretary.

Of the 65 students enrolled, 47 were new to the school, indicating a continuingly large turn-over. Many were interested in acquiring the language as a tool, rather than a degree. The number of undergraduates had declined to nine, of whom six were senior majors. In view of the higher language competence of the students, the old course in Intermediate Grammar and Composition was reduced to "undergraduate credit only." The course in Intermediate Oral Practice was henceforth omitted entirely.

The Alumni Association, newly baptized AMISA, (Association of Middlebury Italian School Alumni), following the example of the French Amicale and the German FIDES, continued its generous scholarship support with grants in memory of Mrs. Lena Wolff and of alumnus Gordon MacKenzie. UNICO, a national Italian service organization provided five new scholarships. The Istituto di Cultura continued to furnish gift volumes for the M.A. candidates and as prizes for outstanding students.

The summer of 1967 marked no important changes in the academic pattern. Dr. Ruggero Stefanini, returning as Visiting Professor from 1965, gave carefully planned instruction in the Dante course and in La Lirica Stilnovistica. New was Dr. Franco Ferrucci of New York University, teaching Prose Masterpieces and Realism. Dr. Ascari taught advanced language courses; the Costa sisters returned from travel in Italy, Annunciata teaching Methods, and Joan as secretary. The Italian School still used part of Allen Hall, but the new Chinese School had most of it, as well as prior rights to the main lounge. Success was scored by the fine student performance of Pirandello's difficult *Enrico IV*. The annual AMISA dinner gave special honor to Dr. Camillo Merlino, presenting him with an engrossed scroll, and making a handsome gift of Italian books to the college library with a book-plate in his name.

Being in Middlebury all year enabled Castiglione to arrange various devices to accept a few more students, so the enrollment grew in 1968 to 74, of whom 36, almost half, were men. A new course in Phonemics was offered by Mrs.

Students play the popular Italian game of bocce

Giulia Mazzuoli, Doctor from the Univ. of Florence, and Professor of Philology at Pisa. She taught in the orientation program of our School in Florence beginning in 1968 and was Director of that school from 1971 to 1973. The Visiting Professor was Dr. Arnolfo Ferruolo of Florence, member of the faculty in 1956 and 1957. He taught the Cinquecento and Petrarch courses. Dr. Franco Ferrucci returned to give the Poetry and Pirandello. Miss Cavallini had the Dante course, the Civilization II, and directed the student play, Goldoni's *La vedova scaltra.* A happy innovation took place in the sixth week when, as a "tension-breaker" before exams, a group of students presented in Dana a delightful program of skits, music and dancing.

The summer of 1969 saw the highest enrollment in the history of the Italian School, a total of 81—52 women, 29 men. Fifty students were new to the school. Castiglione's efforts to arrange more space were largely responsible for the increase but West Forest's dining hall and the salon for evening meetings were overcrowded. Seven students had to board in town. Suitable classroom space was also lacking, since the customary two ground floor rooms in Monroe had been converted to offices. The administrative load was extremely heavy.

The Visiting Professor was Dr. Paolo Ramat, Professor of Linguistics and Director of the Istituto di Letterature Straniere at the University of Cagliari, Sardinia. Mrs. Castiglione, having transferred her usual Phonetics to Mrs. Ramat, was able to give the Methods course and also the Stylistics, which gradually over the years had come to deal predominantly with the analysis of literary texts, rather than equally with oral fluency and style, as originally. The change reflected the higher competence of the students. Dr. John Freccero of Yale, Miss Margherita Bernardi, of the faculty of our School in Florence, Miss Cavallini, and Remo Trivelli were among the faculty of nine, giving 15 courses.

Highlights of the extracurricular program were a beautiful concert by Miss Nancy Krumm, soprano, a Middlebury graduate, with piano accompaniment by Middlebury's Professor Emory Fanning; a performance of Buzzati's two-act comedy *Un caso clinico;* and an evening of musical varieties and Italian madrigals by students. Master's degrees were awarded to 26 students, five from the summer and 21 from the School in Italy. Probably no university in this country gives regularly more M.A.'s in Italian than Middlebury.

Special events and interesting changes took place in the session of 1970. The enrollment showed a disappointing decrease to 60. Several reasons contributed, chief among them a nation-wide diminution of interest in foreign languages, and the removal of requirements in many colleges. The national economic situation was less favorable. There was much unemployment among teachers. Middlebury tuition and board fees had increased 50% since 1964, from $430 to $640. The Italian School had 15 cancellations immediately before the session, because of financial difficulties.

The number of funded scholarships had also diminished, although the school still profited by the continuing generosity of many friends: the AMISA, the Barbieri Endowment, the Nolfis, the Italian Teachers Club of Hartford which gave its faithful scholarship for the 31st consecutive year. A special tribute of deep gratitude is due to Dr. Nicholas Locascio who for many years until his regretted death in 1973 made magnificent gifts of several thousand dollars each year for scholarships for students of Italian not only in the summer but also in the winter here and in Florence. Even more, his presence, his hearty laugh and enthusiastic participation in the school's activities will be greatly missed.

Dr. Castiglione was in Florence for the full year 1969-70 in charge of the Middlebury Graduate School. Routine correspondence with students was efficiently handled by Mrs. Barbara Filan, Secretary of the Language Schools. All student acceptances, all academic arrangements had to be sent to Florence, however; while postal strikes both in this country and in Italy created serious handicaps.

The old Chemistry Building was completely remodeled, and as Voter House, constituted a most comfortable new dormitory for the Italian School. It could have taken more students; especially since the school's dining hall was moved from West Forest (given to the new Japanese School) to the ground floor, Lower Forest, where it had ample space. Miss Cavallini taught her illustrated Italian Painting appropriately in the new Johnson Building.

The Visiting Professor was Dr. Eduardo Saccone, Associate Professor at Johns Hopkins, a brilliant young specialist in Italian literature. He lectured on Ariosto and the Narrative of Italo Suevo. Dr. Mario Rossi came from the University of Florence and taught two history courses. Miss Cavallini gave the Dante and the Painting courses. The literature-culture group numbered eight courses besides Research. On August 8, at a special reception attended by all the directors and other officials of the college, Minister Francesco Tonci Ottieri, Consul General in Boston, conferred upon Salvatore Castiglione the decoration of Cavaliere Ufficiale dell'Ordine "al merito della Repubblica Italiana", with a beautiful medal and scroll. Other special events of the session were an excellent concert by Miss Nancy Krumm, accompanied by Professor Fanning; and two one-act plays in Wright Theatre.

The AMISA held its annual week-end; and at its dinner on July 11 there was a special program in honor of Mrs. Freeman and me, on the occasion of my retirement. Gifts were presented; and in replying, I continued my annual custom of relating assorted Vermont stories. Then to my surprise, alumnus Dr. Herbert Golden staged a mock Commencement ceremony, complete with robes and hoods, in which, after his speech in macaronic Latin I was awarded the degree of Doctor Artium Elegantium et Operum Magnificorum, with a beautiful diploma. I managed to respond in Latin.

Dr. Castiglione continued to direct the Italian School after 1970, when this chronicle closes. By that time, he was the senior Director in length of service. In fact, as of 1973, he has been connected with his school about as long as any director or dean, except myself. In July 1972, AMISA gave him a fine testimonial dinner, to celebrate the 25th Anniversary of his directorship. Besides personal gifts for Pierina and him, checks for $1800 inaugurated the Castiglione Endowment Fund for scholarships. Contributions continue to come in, and the fund now amounts to well over $2000, the income of which is used for scholarships in the school.

Salvatore Castiglione has been a part of the Italian School since 1937, except for a brief interval. This extraordinary length of service has given him a continuity of aim and a deep understanding of Middlebury's essential principles, added to an absolute loyalty. Affectionately known everywhere as "Sal", he has succeeded better than any director in creating in his school a bond of close human friendliness, informal, personal, and lasting. The small size of the Italian School has aided, but this really sentimental tie is not the result of smallness. The special atmosphere was begun by the Merlinos, and has been greatly increased by both the Castigliones. He has added his quiet personal intensity; she has contributed her feminine buoyant enthusiasm. There have been difficulties and handicaps: the limitations of budget for a small enrollment, the scattering of the school's facilities at times, the large proportion of new students each summer, the young average age-level which brought a spirit of youthfulness, but needed much supervision, sometimes control, sometimes encouragement. The best illustration of the pervasive atmosphere of the Italian School is the AMISA and its gatherings. Alumni and friends after a dozen years of absence embrace each other as long-lost friends. Under Middlebury banners, they sing Middlebury songs more lustily than the winter-college alumni meetings. From their own song-book of Middlebury-Italian folksongs, they shout gaily their memories "dell'università." The Italian School and its AMISA have been the most generous in gifts to the college, and the most successful in securing scholarship funds.

Much of the secret of the school's success lies in its balance: between high scholarship and congenial personality, between language training and literary-cultural studies, between academic seriousness and extracurricular jollity. Castiglione has taught the Dante courses for many years with thoroughness and authority; Pierina, well qualified in literature, became one of Middlebury's most skillful teachers of phonetics and stylistics. He has stimulated and guided the many-faceted research of candidates for the doctorate. His influence accounts in part for the fact that the Italian School has had more than its proportionate number of D.M.L. recipients. Every year, with strictly limited financial resources, he has brought to Middlebury distinguished Visiting Professors and a highly competent faculty.

Modest, soft-spoken, positive in his opinions but always courteous and tactful, he has nudged his teachers and even his students into the limelight, and thus encouraged them to put forth their maximum effort. His example has been contagious, and explains much of the cordiality so typical of the school.

The Italian School is unique, not only in this country but in the world. Nowhere else, we can state categorically, is there an Italian School like it. Nowhere else is there a summer school of Italian, specialized at the graduate level, offering a balance of advanced courses in the oral and written language, and a rotating program of graduate courses in a broad field of literature and culture, where the students are segregated from English and required to use only Italian in their entire activity. Add to this a compensating atmosphere of congeniality and fun, made up of music and singing, dramatics, dances, games, films, and picnics. Only in Middlebury. And directing it all, since 1947, is the unique Sal Castiglione.

THE FIFTIES and SIXTIES

The Russian School

Robert L. Baker, 1967 –

Upon the retirement of Dr. Fayer at the close of the 1967 session, it was planned to give the Russian School both a Visiting Director and a resident Dean. I felt that the Russian School was strong enough and complex enough to warrant following the pattern of the French and Spanish Schools. A Russian-born scholar with an international reputation would bring prestige to the school, and heighten its academic quality. An experienced teacher-administrator on the Middlebury College faculty would direct the year-round organization of the school, its logistical operation, records and publicity. With this in mind, President Armstrong wrote in February 1967 to Professor Robert L. Baker, offering him an appointment as Associate Professor of Russian in the college, and Dean of the Russian Summer School effective September 1. I wrote to him to explain the many responsibilities of the Dean; and evidently did not frighten him, for he accepted the double assignment.

Dr. Baker had been teaching at Indiana University since 1960. A.B., University of Colorado, and M.A., University of Michigan, he earned the Ph.D. at Michigan in 1962. He had been a Graduate Exchange Student at Leningrad State University in 1959-60, and First Observer of the Summer Exchange of Language Teachers in Moscow in 1964. He had taught in the NDEA Summer Institutes at Michigan and Northwestern, and then had been Director of the Academic-Year NDEA Russian Language Institute at Indiana for five years. He had served on an Office of Education Advisory Committee on the college text-book *Modern Russian;* on an MLA project to validate its Teacher Qualification Tests; and was Consultant to the Indiana Language Program, and the Inter-University Committee on Travel Grants. He had published a number of articles on the teaching of Russian, and was a consultant to textbook publishing firms. He thus had both the teaching and administrative experience that we needed. He visited Middlebury in mid-July to get acquainted with the school, and to find a place for himself and his family to live.

We proceeded also to search for a Visiting Director. We had a definite preference for a scholar born in Russia. All the other Middlebury schools, except the Italian, had directors born and educated in the foreign country, bringing to their school the personal insights and the heritage of the foreign culture. We investigated a large number of Russian scholars, men and women, now teaching in this country. Everyone whom we approached was, for one reason or another, either not interested in the rather demanding specifications of the position, or

ROBERT L. BAKER
Dean and Director of the Russian Summer School, 1967-; Professor of Russian, Middlebury College, 1967-

not suited to them. The search continued through the summer and autumn without success. In November it was decided to forego a Visiting Director for 1968, and to place the entire charge of the Russian Summer School in the hands of Dr. Robert Baker, Dean.

It was a wise decision. With quiet and systematic efficiency, he set about assembling an excellent faculty and organizing the publicity. Instead of a Visiting Professor, he appointed as Visiting Poet-Lecturer Ivan Elagin, widely recognized as one of the finest of contemporary Russian poets. Elagin proved to be a very effective classroom teacher as well. Many of Dr. Fayer's staff returned, including Mrs. Catherine Wolkonsky as Assistant to the Dean, and Mrs. Berthe O. Normano as Executive Secretary. Aron Pressman, absent from the school since 1959, returned as Assistant to the Dean. Other familiar faces from the faculty of previous summers were Katherine Alexeieff, Vladimir Grebenschikov, Helen Isyumov, Eugene Klimoff and his wife, Olga Lang, Eugene Magerovsky, Regina Todd and Helen Vukanovich. Completing the staff of 19 were the new additions: Gennady Klimenko, Rogneda Kozlowski, George Krugovoy, Xenia Leontieff, and Igor Mihalchenko. The Dean's wife, Mrs. Alexandra Baker, born of Russian parents and a native speaker of Russian, A.B., Hunter, M.A., Indiana, had been appointed Associate in Russian in the winter college. Although not officially a member of the summer staff, she was constantly helpful in the school, as hostess and participant in the school's activities.

In a major policy step, the Institute of Soviet Studies was combined with the Russian School, becoming an integral part of the school's curriculum. The program was thus composed of six parts: intermediate and advanced practical language courses in the written and oral skills, theoretical and historical language courses, literature, methods and professional training, civilization into which the former Institute courses were incorporated, and research and special study. An expanded and flexible list of rotated courses was appended. Dissatisfied with the inadequate preparation of students of Russian nationwide, Baker classified three of the intermediate language courses as remedial: Grammar, Conversation, and Phonetics; and granted only undergraduate credit for them. All the other language courses were accepted for graduate credit; four of them were required for the M.A. The added category of Research was taught on an individual seminar basis; candidates for the M.A. were required to include one such course in their final summer; and it was particularly useful to D.M.L. candidates.

The enrollment rose from 103 in 1967 to 124, a gratifying increase of 20%, with a high proportion of men, 52 compared to 72 women. Baker's admissions policies decreased the number of mature women of Russian origin who counted on their native language to make the M.A. easy for them; and increased instead the number of well-qualified undergraduate Russian majors. The faculty commented on the improvement in academic performance, although the number of M.A. candidates was thereby reduced. The relative age level of the student body was lower, and the atmosphere somewhat more youthful and eager. The school's headquarters continued to be in Stewart Hall, with the unsatisfactory Atwater House as an overflow. Only two students were permitted to live in town. Proctor Hall was again shared with the Spanish School as the dining room. The extracurricular activities were coordinated by Aron Pressman, who led enthusiastic sessions in singing, directed and accompanied the two concerts. Mrs. Kozlowski was effective in directing two one-act plays, performed by American students. Special lectures, sessions of Russian dancing, picnics and sports filled the extra hours.

On August first I received a letter signed by nearly all the Russian School faculty, urging the consideration of Dr. Baker as "both Director and Dean of the Russian Summer School, since he has proved by this summer session that the school and its further success can be entrusted to him." The letter spoke warmly of his tactful, efficient, and well-organized way of running the school, his gift of securing the enthusiastic cooperation of his staff, and his quiet sympathetic approach to the problems of his students, resulting in their confidence and respect. "The atmosphere created by the dedication and efforts of Dr. Baker has been conducive in securing the enthusiasm, cooperation, and friendly and efficient team-work of the whole school." President Armstrong and I were much pleased by the letter, but not surprised, as we had already reached the same conclusion. Although he was not the native Russian we had originally sought, Dr. Baker's performance in the language, in scholarship, and in administration convinced us that we needed to look no further. Before the end of the session, we had the pleasure of announcing that he had accepted the appointment as Director of the Russian School.

The session of 1969 was a smooth and successful operation. Dr. Baker, having personally handled all the complex details of the academic, logistical and social functioning of the school for a year, was able to delegate much of it to able assistants—Mrs. Catherine Wolkonsky and Prof. Samuel Cioran, Assistant Professor of Russian in the winter college. Mrs. Normano retired after many years of faithful service, but was a welcome participant in the school's activities.

The office routine was alleviated for Baker by Mrs. Louise Pressman as office manager and Mrs. Marie Klimoff, secretary. With Cioran and Nicholas Maloff handling the social program and the dancing, and Mrs. Kozlowski directing the dramatics, the calendar was rich and varied. A new diversion was added in the form of chess, introduced and coached by a former member of a Polish championship chess team.

Baker was able to bring as Visiting Lecturers two people of international distinction, Arkadiy and Natalya Belinkov. Until they came to the United States for political asylum in 1968, they were intimately involved in the Moscow literary scene. Belinkov had spent 12 years in labor camps, was Senior Associate in the Gorky Institute, specializing on contemporary writers, and later a free-lance critic. Mrs. Belinkov had lectured at Moscow State University and at the Gorky Institute, and was an editor for literary journals. They were living in New Haven and she was lecturing at Yale. They provided an unusual opportunity for students to learn of recent developments on the intellectual scene in the Soviet Union.

Other new members of the faculty were Mrs. Doris de Keyserlingk, M.A., Middlebury 1958, Antonia Glasse, and Emmanuel Sztein. Mrs. Tatiana Kosinski returned after three summers' absence. They and the continuing faculty formed a harmonious and highly cooperative group. Baker's major problem, as for Fayer, was our inability to offer salaries which would be competitive for the better Russian teachers in this country, who could earn much more in other institutions or obtain research grants for the summer.

Changes in the curriculum reflected Baker's policies and the changes in student interest. Advanced work in the language was expanded by new courses in the Structure of Contemporary Russian and an Introduction to Russian Philology, designed especially for advanced students and doctorate candidates. The demand for courses in Russian science and economics had practically disappeared. The section on Civilization and the former Institute of Soviet Studies was cut to three courses: Russian Thought, Soviet History, and Russian Art. On the other hand, the interest in Russian literature continued to grow, especially among the undergraduates. The offerings in literature were consequently more than doubled, with seven courses covering periods from the 18th century down to the post-Stalinist "thaw" and Solzhenitsyn. A second-level course in Methods was given as a workshop. It was evident that a majority of the students, both graduates and undergraduates, were preparing eventually for teaching; and that the curriculum was coming to resemble more closely that of the other Middlebury schools. The faculty reported that the student response and performance were excellent. Baker conducted a systematic campaign for stricter grading, in view of the lax and indulgent grading common in Russian classes countrywide.

The only discouraging factor was the marked drop in enrollment, down to 87. Quality and publicity remained strong, but in general, countrywide, language study was declining. A number of M.A. candidates, accepted under Fayer, had completed the degree. Baker tended to eliminate poorly qualified candidates for the M.A. or D.M.L., preferring even the better prepared highly motivated undergraduates from good colleges. The competition of a new Russian Summer School in Norwich University may have had some effect.

Commencement 1969 was marked by a special celebration of the Russian Summer School in honor of its Twenty-fifth Session. The honorary degree of Doctor of Letters was conferred upon its founder, Dr. Mischa H. Fayer. The degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon Professor Ernest J. Simmons, a distinguished Russian scholar and long friend of Middlebury, who gave the Commencement address.

The pattern of staff and curriculum had proven right and effective; the session of 1970 followed it with little change. Prof. Herman Ermolaev of Princeton and Prof. Nikolai Oulianoff of Yale, distinguished historians of Russian literature and culture, were the Visiting Professor and Lecturer. The school welcomed the return of Prof. Nicholas Fersen of Williams College, absent since 1960, and of Mrs. Olga Lang of Columbia. New to the faculty was Mrs. Lidia Slavatinsky of Queens College. The Practical Language courses remained unchanged; the courses in literature and civilization followed the announced rotation, with a slight reduction in numbers.

The summer was again characterized by effective cooperation. The enrollment was up slightly, to 91, while most of the Middlebury schools declined, and summer schools in the nation were down sharply, chiefly for economic reasons. As in all the schools, there was a high percentage of last-minute cancellations. Men numbered 41 to 50 women; undergraduates about one-third, and of excellent quality. The extracurricular program was successful, high-lighted by the presentation of Gogol's *Marriage*, directed by Mrs. Kozlowski, with a cast made up largely of American undergraduates. With seven schools on campus sharing the facilities of Wright Theatre and McCullough Gymnasium, provision for dramatics and other presentations was seriously inadequate, and the program of the final two weeks in all the schools was overcrowded. Baker felt the need for other social activities more attractive to the younger age group.

Some of the difficulties were logistical. Stewart Hall was not sufficiently flexible as the school's headquarters, and seemed to be particularly vulnerable

RUSSIAN SCHOOL FACULTY, SUMMER OF 1968
Director Baker fourth from left in second row

to transient interlopers of all kinds. The division of Proctor dining hall between Russian and Spanish made general announcements and singing impossible. The Russian School was therefore happy to be transferred in 1971 to the new Milliken Hall, and to Hamlin Society for its dining room. It used the adjoining Ross Lounge as a classroom. It found that satisfactory isolation from the nearby schools was still difficult. The lack of suitable teaching materials in certain courses, and the necessity of preparing the school's own materials, made heavy demands on the Center's meager duplicating equipment.

The faculty has not changed greatly since 1970; the team works together efficiently and happily. Enrollments remained disappointingly stable at 86 and 87 in 1971 and 1972. Then with the introduction of the Intensive Language Program, and a new range of courses for beginners and intermediate students, the enrollment climbed suddenly to 139 in 1973 and to 166 in 1974, taxing the logistical facilities. Baker found it difficult to secure the full-time year-round bi-lingual secretary whom he needed, as he had no "Dean." Since 1972, Professor Samuel Orth, A.B., Middlebury, Ph.D., New York Univ., Assistant Professor in the winter college, has been increasingly helpful. He was named Assistant Director in 1974, and Acting Director during Baker's spring term leave.

Dr. Baker said in his 1969 Report, "The Russian Summer School is a unique institution in the United States which can and must serve a very vital function and important service to the nation, whether or not we continue to turn out large numbers of degree recipients." The school continues to demonstrate that Russian can be taught effectively to American students in accordance with the Middlebury plan of high academic standards and total concentration upon the foreign language and culture.

THE FIFTIES and SIXTIES

The Spanish School

Joaquín Casalduero, 1949, 1954, 1958
Ángel del Río, 1949 - 1954
Francisco García - Lorca, 1954 - 1963
Emilio González - López, 1963 - 1970

The general grief over the loss of the beloved director Juan Centeno was translated into a determination by faculty and students alike to carry on in his spirit the ideals of the Spanish School. The session of 1949 became in a sense a continuing memorial to him. An example was the creation of the Juan Centeno Memorial Scholarship Fund, under the leadership of a student, Miss Frances Burlingame. A capital fund of more than $1500 was raised during the summer, increased in later years, and still provides the only funded scholarships awarded by the school.

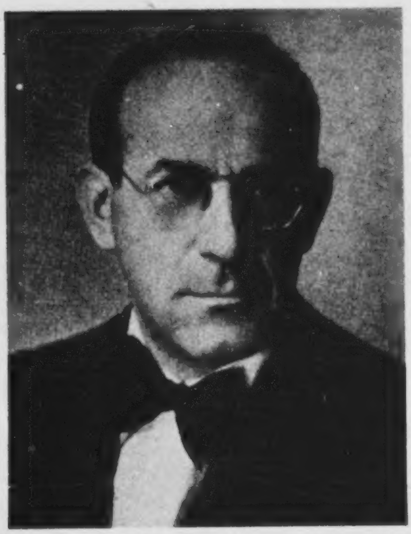
Eugenio Florit, the poet of the faculty, wrote a moving poem, translated into English by Miss Eleanor Turnbull, student poetess. We quote a few lines:

El Recuerdo

Si parece mentira . . .
Todo está igual. Los viejos y los nuevos . . .
Cuando se vive, como tú, en la obra,
La muerte no separa de la vida.
Cuando se deja, como tú, la obra
Los tuyos, por tu amor, van a seguirla.

It seems unbelievable . . .
All is the same. The old ones, the new ones. . . .
When one lives, as you, in one's work,
Death cannot divide from life.
When one lays down, as you, one's work
Your friends, for love of you, will carry on.

Joaquín Casalduero graciously consented to serve as Acting Director. He had been a member of the faculty since 1932. Doctor from the University of Madrid, with teaching experience at Strasbourg, Cambridge, Oxford, Smith, Wisconsin, and in 1949 full Professor at New York University, he had assisted Juan Centeno in many ways, especially during the hectic days of the enrollment bulge and the dislocations of Bread Loaf in 1943. He knew the faculty and the program thoroughly, and was able to take over on short notice. Scholarly, judicious, with a penetrating mind, and deeply loyal to Middlebury, he gave the



ÁNGEL DEL RÍO
Director of the Spanish Summer School, 1950-1954

needed stability in the emergency. Samuel Guarnaccia, Dean of the school since 1947, Centeno's constant companion and aid during his last illness, capably managed the administrative organization.

The faculty, engaged by Centeno, was essentially the same as in 1948, a loyal and experienced group. The Visiting Professor from South America, designated by the Department of State, was Dr. Ricardo Latcham, a distinguished author and teacher from Santiago, Chile. A giant of a man, and a little ill-at-ease in the Middlebury informality, he gave carefully prepared lectures on Hispanic-American culture. The enrollment reached a record mark of 238 full-time students. Besides teaching his courses on Lyric Poetry and on Romanticism, Dr. Casalduero fulfilled his new responsibilities with modesty and quiet effectiveness. He indicated however that he was not interested in becoming the permanent director, and he cooperated actively with me in suggesting outstanding Spanish scholars.

After careful investigation, I discussed the position with Professor Ángel del Río in New York; and in late October, 1949, he accepted the appointment as Director. He was at that time Associate Professor of Spanish at Columbia, where he had taught since 1929. He was born in Soria, Spain, in 1901, and received the degrees of Licenciado and Doctor en Filosofía y Letras at the University of Madrid. He taught for several years in Strasbourg, in Puerto Rico and Miami. At Columbia he was four times Acting Head of the Spanish Department, and Acting Director of the Hispanic Institute. In the fall of 1950, he was appointed Chairman of the Spanish Dept. at Washington Square College, New York University.

His scholarly activity was enormous. He was a member of the editorial staff of the *Romanic Review,* formerly of the *Revista Hispánica Moderna,* and Editor-in-chief of the literary magazine *Occidental.* He had written books on the life and work of Federico García-Lorca, of the poet Pedro Salinas, and many critical editions. He was best known for the two-volume *Historia de la literatura española*, just published in 1948, the best and most complete history of Spanish literature then available. He was widely known for a large number of articles and reviews published in the current professional magazines.

Dr. del Río's wife Amelia is a graduate of Vassar, and earned her Master's degree at Columbia. She taught at Vassar for four years, then went to Barnard in 1929, where she became Chairman of the Spanish Dept. in 1941. She accompanied Ángel to Middlebury regularly, teaching the course in Intermediate Grammar with great skill; and as the official hostess of the school, fostering a happy atmosphere with her friendliness and charm.

With characteristic energy and directness, Dr. del Río came to Middlebury in November to study on the spot all aspects of his directorship, and to discuss plans with Dean Guarnaccia and me. He had visited Middlebury before, and was acquainted with many of the faculty, but had never taught here. For the summer of 1950, he assembled a distinguished faculty. He held the allegiance of the "old guard" like Tomás Navarro, Eugenio Florit, Xavier Fernández, Concha Bretón, Elisa Curtis-Guajardo, Jorge Mañach, Pilar de Madariaga. He brought back the famous poet Pedro Salinas, then professor at Johns Hopkins, who had begun coming to the Spanish School in 1937. Other more recent members who returned were Juan Marichal, newly appointed at Harvard; Joaquina Navarro, daughter of Tomás Navarro; Eloisa and Manuel Álvarez-Morales, Emilio González-López. A new and happy addition was Francisco García-Lorca, brother of Federico, and future director of the school. He had recently completed his Ph.D. at Columbia, and was then teaching at Queens College, N.Y.

The Visiting Professor was José Manuel Blecua, Professor at the University of Zaragoza, corresponding member of the Spanish Academy; a fine scholar and a charming person; editor of many classical texts; and a cogent teacher. He taught the History of Spanish Poetry, and gave a series of Stylistic Commentaries on the great poets.

It was a great summer, even an unforgettable one. Dr. del Río's wide reputation and the warmth of his personality attracted to Middlebury many of the foremost Spanish intellectuals and men of letters. Middlebury was in a sense a haven and a home for them. They loved the school, the countryside, the atmosphere, the freedom and the companionship they found here. Not even in Spain could you have found a gathering of men and women such as these. Jorge Guillén, then at Wellesley, and Amado Alonso of Harvard, among others, visited the school and lectured. To sit at the feet of Jorge Guillén and Pedro Salinas, and to listen to them talking was the opportunity of a lifetime.

Tomás Navarro Tomás added another dimension—a linguistic scientist of tremendous dignity, teaching courses on the Spanish language, phonetics, metrics, or the history of syntax. His daughter Joaquina followed in his steps. His pupils held him in high respect and somewhat in awe. Yet in informal faculty gatherings, he showed himself a gifted entertainer, singing or reciting and accompanying himself on a guitar.

Eugenio Florit, formerly of the Department of State of Cuba, Cuban consul in New York, professor at Barnard, was one of the most dedicated and popular teachers in his field of Spanish-American literature and culture. The unaffected warmth and friendliness of all his contacts made him beloved. He was a lyric poet of much talent, adding greatly to the literary quality of the school's atmosphere. He was afflicted with deafness, and stories circulated that when he felt bored, he would pull the plug from his earphone. Students still remember a comical skit performed by him and Professor Blecua who had the same handicap. Two deaf men carried on a ludicrous non-sequitur conversation: "Are you going to the library?" "No, I'm going to the library." "Oh, I thought you were going to the library."

The rich and varied curriculum answered the needs of the 236 students enrolled. Dr. del Río lectured on Unamuno and Ortega y Gasset; Mañach on Gaucho Literature; Salinas on the Golden Age and "Modernismo"; Marichal on the Essay. With a rather large proportion, 15%, of undergraduates, several survey-type courses were considered necessary. García-Lorca gave the History of Spanish Civilization; González the Development of Spanish Literature; Florit the History of Spanish-American Civilization, and Great Figures of the Literature. Gradually in succeeding years, del Río reduced the "survey" courses to not more than two or three, on an alternating basis in each summer. The three undergraduate-level courses in oral and written language were continued, as the indispensable preparation for satisfactory work in the advanced courses. Many of the undergraduates were better prepared, however, than some of the secondary school teachers of Spanish who had had only a minor in college.

SPANISH SCHOOL FACULTY, SUMMER OF 1950

Front row, l.-r.: Sr. Mañach, Sr. Salinas, Sr. Blecua, Sr. del Río, Sr. Navarro, Mr. Guarnaccia. Second row, third from left, Sra del Río. Third row, fourth and fifth, Sr. García-Lorca, Sr. González-López

The entertainment program was lively, including a concert of Andalusian songs and dances, and several plays at the Playhouse: *Ligazon,* by Valle-Inclán, *El Mancebo que casó con mujer brava,* and others. Mañach and García-Lorca wrote a clever farce on phonetics, with local hits and songs, played by the faculty. Mrs. Lena D. Wolff, a student of long standing, generously established a scholarship for six years to aid deserving colored students.

A dominant interest in the following year was the inauguration of the Graduate School of Spanish in Spain. Dr. del Río went to Spain in January 1951 at our request to make the necessary arrangements with the Universities of Madrid and Salamanca, and with the International Institute for Girls at Miguel Angel 8 for our Madrid headquarters. A first announcement in December was followed by the complete bulletin on the two schools abroad, published in April. Dr. Margarita de Mayo, Chairman of the Spanish Dept. at Vassar, and member of the Middlebury Spanish Summer School faculty from 1925 to 1933, was appointed Director de Estudios, and spent ten days at Middlebury during the summer to meet the students enrolled in her group, and to coordinate programs and administration. The school opened in Madrid on October first, 1951, with 21 students enrolled.

Don Manuel García-Blanco, Secretary and Catedratico of the University of Salamanca, was appointed Visiting Professor for the summer of 1951. He was well-known on the Middlebury campus, having already spent the summers of 1932, 1935, and 1936 here. He taught courses on the Romancero and on the old and modern dialects of the Spanish world. His generous unselfish interest in Middlebury's project in Spain, and his vigorous charm as a colleague and teacher put the whole school greatly in his debt.

Casalduero and Baralt were welcomed back in 1951; also José Arce of Dartmouth, here in 1945, who taught the Methods course. Casalduero gave two of his specialties, the Quijote and the Nineteenth Century Theatre. Luis Baralt, a quiet, artistic, and delightful person, Professor of Aesthetics at the University of Havana, former Cuban Ambassador to Canada, not only taught a penetrating course on the Contemporary Theatre, but also directed the dramatics activities of the school with professional skill. In order to be able to direct the rehearsals in Spanish, he prepared for the actors and stage crew a pamphlet containing all the necessary Spanish vocabulary of the theatre.

The summer of 1951 was marked by a drastic decline in enrollment, down to 181, a decrease of 55. The decline continued in succeeding summers, down to 162 in 1952, and to the low point of 135 in 1954. We were alarmed and mystified at first, especially since the Spanish School was heavily affected before the other schools. Summer schools countrywide were showing declines, however, even greater proportionately. It became clear after a while that the basic reasons were the national and international situation centering around the Korean War. All the Middlebury schools suffered. The Spanish School was at the same time subject to greater competition from attractive opportunities for study and travel in Mexico, Puerto Rico, and South America. The trough of the wave occurred about 1954 in all the Middlebury schools. The Spanish School recovered just as rapidly as the other schools, and by 1960 the enrollment was back above 250.

The enthusiastic atmosphere of the school in those years was created not only by the splendid teaching faculty, but also by many of the "lesser" personnel to whom much credit should be given. They were table-heads; they spent hours chatting with students on the lawn or in the Hepburn Garden, took roles in plays, sang in the choruses, provided dozens of special services. The Spanish School had the good fortune of welcoming more faculty wives than the other schools, and of involving them in the social life of the school. Led by Mrs. Amelia del Río, there were, among others, Mrs. Casalduero, Mrs. González, Mrs. Navarro, Mrs. García-Blanco, Mrs. Fernández, Mrs. Arce. The school was especially proud that the García-Lorca family, including Mrs. Laura García-Lorca and her mother Mrs. Gloria de los Ríos, usually spent the summer at Middlebury, living in the KDR or other fraternity house and sharing in the life of the school. Then there were the young people, full of spirit and gaiety—Joaquina Navarro, Carmen del Río, Jewel Fewkes the secretary, Paul Guarnaccia, younger brother of the Dean.

Several old friends returned for the summer of 1952, and there were some new faces, including two Visiting Professors. Augusto Centeno, brother of Juan, from the University of Colorado, had been here in 1947. He lectured on the Spanish language and on Galdós. From South America came Dr. Sánchez Reulet, Chief of a division in the Pan-American Union. His courses on Contemporary Hispanic Thought and on Spanish Art were deep and thorough. New to Middlebury were Dr. Manuel Alcalá, of Bryn Mawr, and Miguel Pizzaro of Brooklyn College. Tomás Navarro, on the Middlebury faculty for the last time, and his daughter Joaquina encouraged larger use of the new general phonetics laboratory in Painter Hall, through their courses in metrics, phonetics, and the History of the Spanish Language.

The theatre was particularly successful in 1952 in spite of the congested schedule of four schools in the little Weybridge Playhouse which burned during the winter of 1953. Under the direction of Mrs. Amelia del Río, four performances were given, including a polished presentation of *Doña Clarines*. An evening was dedicated to Pedro Salinas. After an address by Dr. del Río, and a reading by Miss Turnbull of some of her translations of Salinas' poetry, faculty and students staged a performance of Salinas' comedy *La Fuente del Arcangel*. The pianist Paul Spivak gave a fine concert, and informal talks with illustrations of Spanish and Latin-American music. Luis Quintanilla, the famous painter, spent a few days at the school and discussed an exhibition of his drawings.

Americo Castro, one of the world's great Hispanists, was the Visiting Professor in 1953, lecturing on the History of the Spanish Language, and on the Major Genres in Spanish Literature. He and Mrs. Castro adapted readily to the informal life of the school. It was a brilliant summer, with the return of Luis Baralt, for the Contemporary Theatre; Francisco García-Lorca for Contemporary Literature; Juan Marichal for Spanish Culture 1833-98; Casalduero for the Quijote and Romanticism. Dr. del Río lectured on Unamuno. Two young men, Claudio Guillén and Jaime Salinas, the second generation of Middlebury's great, and themselves destined for successful careers, were added to the faculty. Jorge Guillén himself, visiting the school, received an affectionate welcome. The New Jersey Chapter of the A.A.T.S.P. began the tradition of giving its medal and a cash award for presentation to a student at the close of the session.

Dr. del Río informed us in August, to our deep regret, that this must be his last summer as Director. He had accepted an appointment to return to Columbia as Professor of Spanish and Director of the Casa Hispánica, after three years at New York University. Personal obligations also required him to return to Spain more frequently during the summer. He agreed to make all plans for the faculty and courses for the summer of 1954. He was named in the bulletin as Director *on leave*. His resignation was a great loss to Middlebury. Ángel del Río was a most "complete" man and director. He was one of the best Spanish scholars in this country, distinguished for his excellent publications; a teacher and lecturer of great ability, beloved by his students for his unaffected personal interest in their work; an administrator with a systematic, prompt, and vigorous approach to the plans and problems of his school; and above all, a rich personality, with whom it was a joy to work.

He returned to Middlebury, with Mrs. del Río, as the sole Visiting Professor in 1956, teaching Naturalism in the 19th century, and Medieval Literature. He gave the Commencement oration in August, and was awarded the degree of Doctor of Letters, honoris causa. In conferring the degree, President Stratton paid tribute to his outstanding contribution to the influence of Spanish culture in this country. "We have been enriched and stimulated by your leadership and guided by your wise counsel which we hope will long remain available to us." He continued his affection for Middlebury, and his cooperation in its work, as he had promised, until his untimely death in March, 1962.

His wife, Amelia de del Río, was an effective partner for him, and a great asset in the school's program. She usually taught the course in Intermediate Grammar, which required much skill and patience in dealing with the underprepared students. She was often in charge of dramatics, and showed real genius in staging successful plays, with insufficient time and equipment, and with casts made up of inexperienced faculty and students. Her ability to smile and speak softly when things went wrong endeared her to everyone. She now lives in Puerto Rico.

Once again, Middlebury incurred a debt of gratitude to Joaquín Casalduero, who consented to step in as temporary Acting Director for the session of 1954, a heavy task even though Dr. del Río had prepared the complete program. In addition to these duties, he taught two courses, the Quijote, and Lyric Poetry. There were two Visiting Professors. Dr. Aurelio Viñas, a famous historian from the University of Seville, gave a significant course on the Great Events of Spanish History. The distinguished Raimundo Lida, then Visiting Lecturer at Harvard, represented Spanish America with a course in its poetry. New was Roberto Ruiz from Mexico, who had just accepted an appointment on Middlebury's winter faculty, especially competent in grammar and syntax.

Although the student enrollment touched the low point of 135, the session was marked by enthusiasm over a comparatively new movement, sponsored by the Foreign Language Program, Foreign Languages in the Elementary Schools, or FLES. One of the leaders of the movement, Professor Theodore Andersson of Yale, was brought to Middlebury to give a seminar on the aims, values, and methods of such teaching. Assisting him was Mrs. Margit Mac Rae, in charge of the in-service training of teachers of Spanish in the graded schools of San Diego, where the movement was strong. She gave a Workshop consisting of a daily demonstration class of village children in Spanish, followed by discussion and analysis of the techniques and materials used. The program was stimulating and practical; it also responded to widespread public interest at the time.

The school proudly saluted the publication of the latest book by one of its most distinguished students, Miss Eleanor L. Turnbull. Entitled *Ten Centuries of Spanish Poetry*, it was a collection of translations into English, the seventh of a series. Her book, *Contemporary Spanish Poetry*, published in 1945, was also a best-seller. Miss Turnbull had been a faithful student in the Spanish School since 1937. Don Pedro Salinas came to the United States in 1937 to give the Turnbull Poetry Lectures at Johns Hopkins, endowed by her family in Baltimore. In order to appreciate his lectures, Miss Turnbull, whose knowledge of Spanish was limited at that time, slaved with a dictionary, and translated a half-dozen of his poems. Dr. Salinas was so impressed by the exquisite taste as well as the accuracy of her translations that he enthusiastically urged her to continue. At Middlebury, she so rapidly perfected her Spanish that the college recognized her ability in 1942 with a Master of Arts, honoris causa, her first degree. Coached and encouraged by Salinas, Guillén and Florit, she became an outstanding translator of poetry, the most difficult of the arts; and acquainted thousands of non-Spanish-speaking people with the finest examples of a millenium of Spanish poetry. Her books, autographed by herself and the faculty, were often used as prizes for students at the closing exercises. At the age of eighty, she was still studying, attending classes, and modestly sharing in the school's activities.

The award of the Doctorate in Modern Languages posthumously to Miss Jean Gardiner climaxed a moving story. A brilliant and popular student, she had completed all course requirements for the degree, had done the year of study in Spain, and was putting the finishing touches on her thesis which had been accepted as superlative by Dr. del Río. Intending to return to Middlebury for the last formal examination, she died suddenly during the winter. The Council of Directors voted unanimously that the degree should be conferred, and the President and Trustees approved. Her father had her thesis printed "so that all her labor will not be lost, and may be available to other students."

Francisco García-Lorca, 1954 - 1963

Dr. Francisco García-Lorca was appointed Director of the Spanish School effective October 1, 1954. He had been strongly recommended by del Río and Casalduero a year earlier, in accordance with the arrangement made with both of them for the summer of 1954. He was already well-known at Middlebury, and familiar with its organization, having taught here in the summers of 1950, 1951, and 1953, giving the courses in Spanish Civilization or Contemporary Literature. He was born in Granada in 1902. His early training was at the University of Granada where he earned his Licenciatura in Law. He taught for a time there, and spent five years in the Spanish diplomatic service. Coming to this country, he was named a Lecturer at Columbia University in 1939, and completed his Ph.D. there in 1948. He was a Visiting Lecturer at Harvard; Associate Visiting Professor at New York University for a year; served as Consultant to UNESCO; and was Assistant Professor at Queens College since 1949. High among his literary concerns was the work of his famous brother Federico, killed in the Spanish Civil War. He had already edited *Three Tragedies*, and a *Poetical Anthology*. During 1955, he went to Spain on a Bollinger Foundation fellowship to prepare an edition of Federico's complete works. Other publications included *Ganivet, su idea del hombre*, and many journal articles on Cervantes, Gongora, and other Spanish writers.

His wife, Mrs. Laura de García-Lorca, was also a person of great ability

FRANCISCO GARCÍA-LORCA
Director of the Spanish Summer School, 1954-1963; Member of its faculty from 1950

and charm. She had won her Licenciatura in Philosophy and Letters at the University of Madrid; taught at Wellesley and St. Lawrence, and since 1947 was teaching at Barnard. She was the daughter of Don Fernando de los Ríos, former Ambassador of Spain to the United States. Middlebury gave him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws in 1942; and he was the school's Visiting Professor in 1945. The de los Ríos family, including at times four generations, spent many summers in Middlebury after the outbreak of the Civil War in Spain. Laura was married to Francisco in Middlebury in July 1942.

The enrollment rebounded encouragingly to 154 in 1955. The unit cost of instruction per student had always been lower in the Spanish School than in the other schools. I had therefore urged against a cut in the budget when the enrollment had dropped, wishing to give Dr. García-Lorca full opportunity to maintain an attractive faculty. He gathered a strong staff for 1955, with 17 teachers as before; and the results justified our confidence.

García-Lorca established as regular policy, begun by del Río in 1952, the appointment of two Visiting Professors, one from Spain and one from Spanish-America, in order to stress the parallel importance of both literatures and cultures. In 1955 they were Vicente Llorens from Princeton, a specialist in Spanish classical and romantic literature; and Jorge Mañach of Cuba. Raimundo Lida was brought back to repeat his authoritative course on the History of the Spanish Language. García-Lorca gave a course on the Generation of '98. A large proportion of the students new to the school preferred the language courses; but as time passed and more advanced students came, the literature offerings were gradually expanded, still on a rotating basis. In 1957, ten courses in this area were offered, including only two of the survey type.

In view of the interest in the FLES program, a Spanish grade-school demonstration class was taught by Luke Nolfi of the Rochester, N.Y. school system. He had earned his M.A. at Middlebury in 1951, and continued his graduate studies here until he became a member of the faculty. He and his wife Anna, of the same school system, became through many years two of the most faithful and helpful members of the faculty, by their coordinated teaching of methods, demonstration classes, and collections of teaching materials.

The Spanish School shared in the transformation of Hillcrest from dormitory into the new general Language Laboratory and Divisional Office Center. The Spanish Office, summer and winter, was at last adequately accommodated, with more space for desks, books, records, and storage. The school joined in the use of the laboratory developed for general use by all the schools. This facility was so successful that it was expanded each year to meet the constantly increasing demands made on it by faculty and students.

Extracurricular activities were encouraged by the presence of many younger students, especially of several who returned from our School in Madrid. Señorita Osta directed enthusiastic sessions of Spanish dances; Roberto Ruiz coached a singing group. Theatricals, lacking adequate facilities, were performed outdoors in the Hepburn Garden or on Mead Chapel steps. Little known plays by Miguel de Unamuno and by Federico García-Lorca were thus performed.

In 1957, the Visiting Professors were Antonio Alatorre, Professor at the University of Mexico, and editor of the *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*;

and Eugenio F. Granell of the University of Puerto Rico, painter and art critic. The former taught the basic philology course, and the rotating one on the Spanish-American Short Story. His wife, Mrs. Margit Alatorre, was a scholarly researcher in old Spanish and Mexican folk poetry. Professor Granell's illustrated course on the Masters of Spanish Painting added a new dimension to the developing program in culture.

All the schools participated in an energetic campaign to raise enrollments. Special posters, leaflets and bulletins were sent to a revised mailing list. The Spanish School was somewhat handicapped, however, by the lack of an alumni organization such as helped the French, German, and Italian Schools with their publicity. Middlebury profited greatly from the campaign of the Foreign Language Program of the M.L.A., which had stimulated and implemented a national trend in favor of a return to language study, particularly by the oral techniques for which Middlebury was famous. The Spanish School enrollment rose to 190 in 1957, and remained in that vicinity for three summers.

The session of 1958 was in many ways an unusual one. García-Lorca was on leave to spend the summer on research in Spain, after making all arrangements for the faculty and curriculum. For the third time, Dr. Joaquín Casalduero assumed the responsibilities of Acting Director, with urbanity, efficiency, and tact. Dean Guarnaccia provided continuity, and assured administrative and logistic control. It was a difficult summer in that respect, since Hepburn Hall was taken out of use for two years, for complete and badly needed rehabilitation. The Spanish School, for 1958 and 1959, was quartered in Gifford, Starr, the small former McGilton House called the Casa Española, and the Homestead on Weybridge Street. Meals were taken in upper and lower Gifford. These dormitories were crowded to capacity; the pressure of applications was mounting; single rooms for the older students unaccustomed to dormitory life were almost non-existent. The scattering of facilities diminished the usual controls over student behavior; and complaints increased about the use of English, and noise in the rooms late at night. Especially in 1959, the noise and confusion of much construction on the campus, notably the new Proctor Hall, were very detrimental to the academic atmosphere.

The two Visiting Professors of 1958 provided an interesting balance. Camila Henriquez-Ureña was then Chairman of the Department at Vassar, and had taught at Middlebury in 1942, 1943, and 1952. She taught courses in Literary Style, and in the development of Spanish-American Fiction. The other Visiting Professor was Francisco Ayala, outgoing and articulate. Doctor of Law from Madrid, Director of General Studies and Director of Publications at the University of Puerto Rico, it was as a cogent writer of essays and novels of social criticism that he had the greatest impact on the students. His courses on the Generation of '98, and the World Vision in Writers of the Barrocco Period gave full scope for his own strong ideas.

A focal point of much activity was a young man from Vassar, Néstor Almendros, a specialist in audio-visual media, and now a top-level camera man in France. He initiated the students into new devices in the arts, particularly in the cinema; and in the theatricals which he directed, such as the gripping *La Malquerida* of Benavente. The school was happy to share in the use of the new

JOAQUÍN CASALDUERO (left)
Acting Director of the Spanish Summer School, 1949, 1954, 1958; and frequently member of the faculty from 1932

SAMUEL GUARNACCIA (right)
Dean of the Spanish Summer School, 1947-1969; Professor of Spanish, Middlebury College, 1940-1968

Wright Memorial Theatre, completed in 1958. Manuel and Elisa Asensio were welcomed back, from 1955, unusually skillful teachers in the language courses and helpful in the social life. Dr. Joaquín Gimeno, nephew of Casalduero, returned for four summers.

The college was honored to have as the Commencement speaker on August 12, Juan Terry Trippe, President of the Pan American World Airways. His visit was arranged through the kindness of his friend Edwin S. S. Sunderland, trustee of the college. His address on the importance of the study of foreign languages came with force and persuasion from one of the great pioneers of international communication and transportation. The degree of Doctor of Laws honoris causa was conferred upon him. A reception was held by the Spanish School afterward for him and Mrs. Trippe. Both of them charmed everyone by their personality, and their evident enthusiasm for the work of the Middlebury Language Schools.

With the return of Dr. García-Lorca in the summer of 1959 came a number of new faces. The Visiting Professor from Spain was the noted geographer Manuel de Terán, Professor at the University of Madrid, director and coordinator of the monumental *Geografía de España y Portugal.* His two courses gave masterly syntheses of the geographical history and culture of Spain and Spanish America. The Visiting Professor from Spanish America was Manuel Rojas, a leading Chilean writer. Professor at the University of Chile and Director of its Press, he had won many public prizes for his novels. Rugged and rather brusque, his courses on the Spanish-American novel and on Literary Style gave him the opportunity to analyze his own novels and the art of the novel as he saw it. New to the faculty also were Dr. Rodolfo Cardona from Chatham College; and the Esquenazi-Mayo couple, Roberto and Carmen. A most welcome member was Mrs. Amelia A. de del Río, returning alone that summer. She had completed her Doctorate at the University of Madrid in 1958, and was continuing as Chairman of the Department at Barnard College.

The school learned with sorrow of the death during the previous winter of Miss Rose Martin, a beloved teacher in the Spanish Department of the college, who though never a member of the summer faculty, was well-known and most helpful in the extracurricular activities of the summer school.

The Spanish School moved back in 1960 into the remodeled and refurbished Hepburn Hall, and occupied the larger portion of the dining-hall in the just-completed Redfield Proctor Hall-Student Center. By this expansion of its facilities, the school could accept more of its better applicants, and the enrollment jumped 47, or 23%, to a total of 253. Undergraduates numbered 54. An accordion-pleated partition was erected across the big dining hall, separating the Russian School section of 144 seats at the north end from the Spanish section of 240 seats in the center and south end. The partition was essential to give each school the seclusion necessary for its announcements and songs, and most important, to prevent the mingling of students with the resultant use of English. The schools used separate entrance doors. Even so, there was some mingling, especially among the waiters in the serving rooms. Dr. Fayer was particularly unhappy with this irreducible contact, and there were many joking remarks about the "Spanish-Russian curtain."

The Visiting Professor from the south was Dr. Augusto Tamayo Vargas, Director of the Escuela de Estudios Especiales of San Marcos in Lima, a widely known teacher and author, and able interpreter of Peru and Spanish America. He was most helpful to Dean Guarnaccia and to myself during our missions to Peru. The Visiting Professor from Spain was Ricardo Gullón from the University of Santander, internationally reputed as a lecturer, notably on Jorge Guillén and Federico García-Lorca. It was the last summer here for Miss María Diez de Oñate, highly respected teacher of grammar, one of the earliest in service to the college, having taught at Middlebury in the winters of 1920-22. She joined the summer faculty in 1942.

In accordance with our agreement, Francisco García-Lorca was on leave again in the summer of 1961, having made all plans for the session. Dr. Eugenio Florit, who had been associated with the school since 1944, was in charge as Acting Director, with the efficient support of Dean Guarnaccia. Dr. Florit, a poet and editor of poetical works, had also had administrative experience in Cuba's Department of State and in the Cuban Consulate in New York. With a diplomatic and kindly manner, he showed great understanding of the personalities and operation of the school.

Visiting Professor Juan López-Morillas from Brown was a most scholarly person, demanding the utmost concentration from students in his courses on the 18th century and the Generation of '98. Humberto Piñera, Visiting Professor from Cuba, Director of the Instituto de la Habana, was the author of many books on contemporary philosophy. The theatrical program was rich, directed by Ricardo Florit, Eugenio's brother, in the absence of Luis Baralt; two dramatic readings, a puppet show; the student performance of Cervantes' *La guarda cuidadosa*; and by the faculty, *La otra orilla* by López Rubio.

Returning from leave, Francisco García-Lorca devoted two more summers to the Spanish School. They were successful, with a strong enrollment of about 260, and a warm congenial atmosphere. Except for the Visiting Professors, there were few new names on the faculty. In 1962, Antonio Alatorre came back as Visiting Professor from the University of Mexico. From the faculty of our Graduate School in Spain came Carlos Bousoño, one of Spain's outstanding poets. Both brilliant and dependable, he has been one of Middlebury's best teachers. He lectured on Contemporary Poetry and the Structure of Poetry. Luis Baralt was welcomed back for his last summer, lecturing on the Contemporary Theatre, and assisted by his wife in the dramatics. Eugenio Granell returned and gave his popular course in Spanish Painting. Alatorre organized a polyphonic group of 25 students for a fine lecture-concert on music of the Renaissance.

The faculty of our School in Spain was drawn upon again in 1963 for two teachers: the Visiting Professor Gonzalo Menéndez-Pidal, a gentle and scholarly medievalist, who taught a highly original course on the Roads of Spain, and the standard History of the Language; and his wife Elisa, expert in teaching composition and phonetics. The Visiting Professor from Mexico was Emma Speratti Piñero, from the University of San Luis Potosí, the best authority on Valle-Inclán. An impressive, positive personality, she gave two unusual courses, the Gaucho in Literature, and the "Cronistas de Indias", a presentation of the new world in history and legend.

The Nolfis made a timely innovation in their Methods program by adding a third course, Audio-visual Aids and Laboratory Methods and Techniques. They collected thousands of dollars worth of illustrative and source materials, much of it at their own expense. The course was a valuable supplement to the two in Methods of Teaching in the Elementary Schools and in the Secondary Schools. Students usually enrolled in two of the three. The program utilized the developing language laboratory in Hillcrest and looked forward to the Sunderland Center.

Although García-Lorca's personal commitment was clearly to literature, he felt that the correct approach to literature could be made only through a good knowledge of the language. The three undergraduate-credit language courses were pre-requisite for any poorly prepared student. He considered the school also a service program for upgrading teachers of Spanish. Advanced Grammar was stressed, and always had at least five sections. The History of the Spanish Language, and Syntax were given regularly. On the other hand, he enriched the literature courses as much as his limited budget would permit. The section of Literature-Civilization usually had nine courses, of which in 1962 and 1963 three concerned the geography, history, art and general culture of Spain and Spanish-America. The enrollment in the six specialized literature courses was usually large; they were lecture not seminar courses. The major emphasis of the school was on the material which teachers of Spanish needed and would use in their classrooms.

The growth in the size and quality of the Spanish School and the School in Spain was shown strikingly in the number of Master's degrees awarded at Commencement. Compared with the nine students who received their M.A. in

1947, 96 Master of Arts degrees were awarded in 1963, 42 from the Middlebury School and 54 to students who had spent the year in Spain. One D.M.L. was awarded, to María Carmen Azpeitia who had also been a part-time member of the faculty.

Early in the summer of 1963, García-Lorca informed me of his wish to resign as Director. He had recently been appointed Professor at Columbia and Director of the Hispanic Institute in the United States. He felt that his new duties and his need to devote more time to his own research and writing would prevent him from giving Middlebury the proper time and attention. The Spanish School had prospered during his nine years as Director; it had increased in numbers and in reputation. His personal influence with leaders in letters and culture all over the world had brought Middlebury to wide and favorable notice.

He is a man of great literary ability himself. He has a brilliant mind and the genius of literary expression. He knows the beauty of words and how to use them. Out of loyalty for his brother Federico, he has modestly kept his own writings in the background, but they are of high quality. At Middlebury he was affectionately known as "Paco." By the depth and warmth of his human understanding, he established a fine personal relationship with all the faculty and students. Knowing that he was not primarily an administrator, he left the mechanics of the school to Dean Guarnaccia with whom he worked in complete harmony. Much credit also goes to his wife Laura, whose gracious charm and tact, both as hostess and teacher, played a valuable role in the atmosphere of the school.

He consented to direct the School in Spain for the second semester, February to June 1964. Familiar with the aims of the program and wielding great prestige, he was most helpful to the students, and added stature to the school. He returned as a special guest to the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Spanish School in 1966, and received an honorary degree. He continued to teach at Columbia until his retirement in 1967, and now lives in Madrid, a close neighbor of our school offices and of his colleague Joaquín Casalduero.

Emilio González-López, 1963-1970

Conversations were held at once with members of the faculty and leading Spanish professors, with the result that unanimous opinion pointed to the selection of Dr. Emilio González-López as the new director. Highly satisfactory talks confirmed the choice, which was made effective September 1, 1963. Dr. González-López was born in 1903, and graduated from the University of Madrid, Doctor en Derecho y Ciencias Sociales with highest honors. He taught in several universities in Spain and Panama, before going to Hunter College in 1943. He rose to the rank of Professor; and in 1964 was made Chairman of the Romance Languages Department of Hunter College, a part of the City University of New York. In 1967 he became Executive Officer in charge of the entire Spanish Doctoral Program of the City University. He is the author of many excellent books: *La História de la civilización española, História de la literatura española* in three parts; and many scholarly books and articles on his native province of Galicia. He is a Corresponding Member of the Real Academia Gallega.

He had been appointed to the Middlebury Spanish School faculty first in 1947, and came regularly, usually teaching the important standard survey courses Introduction to Spain, or the Development of Spanish Literature, sometimes the 20th Century Novel or the Golden Age, and a section of Advanced Composition. He was admired for the systematic excellence of his teaching, and his conscientious attention to the needs of his pupils. Mrs. González-López

EMILIO GONZÁLEZ-LÓPEZ
Director of the Spanish Summer School, 1963-1970; Member of its faculty from 1947

usually accompanied him, unless prevented by ill-health, and participated actively in the social program, although she never taught.

Dr. González-López was invited by the Centro Gallego of Buenos Aires to be the chief speaker at its special celebration and anniversary during the week of July 21-28, 1964. Since this was a signal honor, and good publicity for Middlebury, it was agreed that he could be absent for a week after the school was well started. He flew to Buenos Aires, gave five lectures on Spanish literature, Galician culture, and the teaching of Spanish in the United States, attended many official functions, and returned by air, all in nine days.

An important change was the absence on leave for two summers of Dean Samuel Guarnaccia. Sargent Shriver approached President Armstrong about the possibility of appointing Guarnaccia for an important post in the Peace Corps, for the two-year period customary in that agency. Since Guarnaccia had just had leave in the first semester of 1962-63, in charge of our Graduate School in Madrid, and since he was so urgently needed not only in the summer school, but also in the winter college as Chairman of the Spanish Department, Pres. Armstrong hesitated.

After some discussion, it was finally worked out that Guarnaccia was granted leave of absence for the summers of 1964 and 1965 and the intervening year, a total of 15 months. He left on June 1 and was put in charge of the entire Peace Corps program in Peru, one of the largest in the world, supervising 445 Peace Corps volunteers involved in rural and community development, agriculture and credit cooperatives throughout Peru.

To care for his important duties during his absence, the school was fortunate to secure on short notice Miss Laurie Perry, who had been secretary to Guarnaccia in 1963. She was appointed Executive Secretary of the Spanish School and Assistant Professor of Spanish for the period. She had studied in our School in Madrid and received the Middlebury Master's degree in 1952. Since then she had carried on doctoral studies at the University of Salamanca, and Bryn Mawr; and had taught Spanish. Her intelligent, systematic handling of a highly complex situation was deeply appreciated.

In his report at the end of the 1964 session Dr. González-López spoke of the considerable transformation that had occurred in the Spanish School during the previous summers. The enrollment in 1964 was 285, up again 30 from 1963, and more than twice the size of the school ten years before. Scores of applicants were refused; and although the many late cancellations were a serious problem, the selection procedure had already produced a higher quality of student. González-López concluded that their more mature attitude and better preparation justified putting the school on an exclusively graduate level. His first step was the elimination in 1964 of the trio of undergraduate-level intermediate courses in oral and written language which had been given for many years. A candidate for the M.A. was required, as before, to pass the advanced courses in Oral Spanish, Grammar, Composition, and Phonetics. The French, German, and Russian Schools still continued a few undergraduate courses for a time.

González-López noted also that the enrollment in the literature and civilization courses was high, over 40 on the average, and nearly 100 in the History

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of Spanish Civilization, a survey course which he had often taught himself. It was strongly recommended to the students going to Spain. Registration was heaviest in his own course on the Golden Age, and in the new course in Contemporary Literature. His 1964 faculty was strong in literature. Concha Meléndez, Professor Emeritus of the University of Puerto Rico, a prolific writer and critic, lectured on the Short Story in Puerto Rico. The other Visiting Professor was Dr. Alonso Zamora Vicente, a teacher in our School in Spain, former Professor at the University of Salamanca.

That the school was able to add 30 students was due to the opening of the new dormitory Allen Hall. For several summers thereafter, the school filled to overflowing Hepburn, Gifford and a third of Allen. González-López decided on a strict limitation of the privilege granted to students to live in town, 31 that summer; and required a pledge that they would participate in all the extracurricular activities. Although the faculty and student plays and the singing were still popular, the picnic at Lake Dunmore had to be cancelled because so few signed up for it. He ascribed this lack of interest to a greater seriousness of purpose. Perhaps a contributing factor may have been the large number of members of religious orders—23 nuns and 12 brothers; as well as ten army and navy officers.

The considerable proportion of Spanish-speaking students attracted his attention. The number was difficult to estimate. Most of them were Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Mexicans and Spaniards, though some came from Argentina, Bolivia and Colombia. Many were born in the United States of Spanish-speaking parents. They were generally fluent in Spanish, and were good students, so they made an important contribution to the life of the school. Many of them needed work in grammar and phonetics, but González-López decided not to permit them to take the conversation course.

The summer of 1965 saw further implementation of the Director's policies. The number of courses in literature was increased to eleven, besides the survey of Spanish civilization. The courses in language practice were reduced to four. Only three undergraduates were accepted, as compared with 54 in 1960. Permission to live in the village was limited to married students and some doctorate candidates; still there were 25. Fees and costs were mounting fast; tuition was up from $185 in 1960 to $245, but the Spanish School was still the most economically operated, with the lowest unit cost of instruction, per student, of all the schools.

The Visiting Professors were Dr. Raul Castagnino of the University of La Plata, Argentina, lecturing on the theatre; and Dr. Carlos Clavería, Director of the Spanish Institute of London, lecturing on Quijote and the History of the Spanish Language. To rebuild the Phonetics course, which had suffered from many changes in teachers, Dr. Xavier Fernández was brought back. He had taught at Middlebury from 1942 to 1953. The theatre was successful under the able direction of Roberto Rodriguez. *El burlador de Sevilla,* a comedy of the Golden Age on the Don Juan theme, was staged with musical accompaniment. The students put on an excellent show, called Las Barbaridades, which included skits, dances, and even a chorus of nuns.

The Fiftieth Session of the Middlebury Spanish School was celebrated in

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SPANISH SCHOOL FACULTY, SUMMER OF 1967
Front row, l. to r.: Sr. Bruzzi Costas, Sr. Ferran, Sr. Castro, Mr. Guarnaccia, Sr. González-López, Sr. Casalduero, Sr. Menéndez Pidal. Back row, third, fourth, seventh from left, Sras. Casalduero, Guarnaccia, González-López.

1966 as its Fiftieth Anniversary. It was a special summer in many ways. The school's offices had moved into spacious rooms in the new Sunderland Language Center. Dean Samuel Guarnaccia had returned to his accustomed post. The enrollment rose to 286, but because of last minute cancellations, there were a few more rooming in town, and a few dormitory rooms vacant. Only one undergraduate was admitted, and that by error. Decreasing enrollments in the conversation classes were balanced by increasing elections of phonetics and grammar.

Three Visiting Professors were appointed. Dr. Raul Castagnino returned from Argentina, giving courses on Stylistics and Latin-American Culture. New to Middlebury were Dr. Gonzalo Sobejano of Columbia, lecturing on Literary Criticism and the Post-Civil-War Novel, and Dr. Baltasar Isaza Calderon who came from Panama to teach new courses on the grammarian Andres Bello, and Problems of the Spanish Language. The courses in literature and civilization were expanded to a total of 16. In addition, four special evening Symposiums were held: on contemporary trends in literature, on Andres Bello, and on the centenary of Valle-Inclan. Contributing to these programs were several new faculty members: Dr. Ramon Alvarez Silva from Puerto Rico, Dr. Narciso Bruzzi Costas from Argentina and Hunter College, Ramon Piñeiro from Santiago de Compostela. A well-drilled choir directed by Emilio Nañez presented a program of Spanish music of the Renaissance.

The high point of the Fiftieth Anniversary celebration came at the Commencement exercises on August 16. Following the colorful academic procession, Pres. James I. Armstrong welcomed the audience, saying: "We pause tonight to mark and recognize the longevity, the strength, and the service which the Spanish School has rendered to Spanish culture, art and literature both as manifested on the Iberian peninsula and in Latin America." I then gave a résumé of the fifty-year history of the school. Honorary degrees were presented. The Honorable Luis Muñoz Marín received the degree of Doctor of Laws. He founded the Popular Democratic Party in Puerto Rico, became President of the Puerto Rican Senate in 1940; was elected Governor in 1948 and thrice reelected under the new Constitution of the Commonwealth. He declined a fifth term and was elected Senator-at-large in 1965. Saluting him as "one of the greatest Americans of our time", Middlebury was highly honored by his presence.

The honorary degree of Doctor of Letters was conferred upon Francisco García-Lorca, Director of the Spanish School for nine years, who flew back from the Mediterranean for the occasion, "a worthy representative of the line of dedicated Directors and Deans who through fifty years have created and upheld the ideals and constituted the tradition of the Middlebury Spanish School." President and Mrs. Armstrong gave a brilliant dinner in honor of the two degree recipients, their wives, and special guests. The students made a generous gift of money to the college for Spanish books.

The enrollment in the Spanish School touched the highest point in its history in the summer of 1967, with 295 full-time students. The record figure of 326 in 1942 had included 103 students from other schools taking a course or two. All but one of the schools on the campus posted their high-water mark between 1965 and 1967. The reasons seem to have been the strong economic condition of the country, the long-run impact of the Foreign Language Program of the M.L.A., and the disappearance of the N.D.E.A. Institutes.

To arrange instruction for this larger number, students were directed into the literature-civilization courses, rather than into the language courses. The latter numbered only four: Conversation, Advanced Grammar, Advanced Composition, and Phonetics, plus an advanced course in the History of the Spanish Language. The weaker students were persuaded to take one of the four general surveys or "panoramic" courses. Besides these, there were fourteen advanced lecture or seminar courses. Requirements in literature were increased. Master's degree candidates were required to have twelve credits in literature instead of ten. Doctorate candidates were permitted to take only those literature courses given by the Visiting Professors, Prof. Piñeiro, and Dr. González. The 18 literature-civilization courses in the Spanish School for 295 students compared with only 12 in the French School for 353 students.

Of the three Visiting Professors, only one was new, Eduardo Camacho Guizado, Doctor from the University of Madrid, Dean of the School of Arts and Sciences at the University of the Andes in Bogotá. Young, scholarly, an excellent teacher and an engaging personality, he was one of the Visiting Professors for the next four years. He and his wife remained on the regular faculty after that. After two years, 1972-74, in charge of the Graduate School in Spain, he became the Director of the Spanish School.

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The other two Visiting Professors were well known in the school, the faithful Dr. Joaquín Casalduero; and from our faculty in Spain again, Dr. Gonzalo Menéndez-Pidal. Other new young teachers were Lamberto Cano, from Barnard, who gave the surveys of Spanish-American Literature and Civilization; Dr. Francisco Rico Manrique from Johns Hopkins, teaching the Middle Ages and the Picaresque Novel; and Miss Luz Castaños from Barnard, student of the New York theatre, who directed the dramatics very successfully for three summers.

A group of some forty students requested of me a formal hearing concerning their interest in the study of Portuguese. Pointing out that it is a major language in South America, and elsewhere in the world, one of the important Romance Languages, more widely spoken than Italian, they urged the introduction of Portuguese into the Middlebury program, either as an adjunct of the Spanish School or as an independent school. They felt certain there would be a viable enrollment. A similar representation was made to me the following summer. I was favorably inclined to the idea; but as we were much occupied in establishing the Chinese and Japanese Schools, and since the dormitory situation was very unclear, it seemed wiser to defer action for that moment. A course in Intensive Beginning Portuguese was given in the summer of 1973.

The three Visiting Professors of 1968 were all familiar to Middlebury: José Luis Cano, poet and literary critic; Alberto Sanchez, and Eduardo Camacho. New to the faculty were Dr. Juan Cano Cano of Yale, and Dr. Guido Gómez de Silva of the University of Mexico. Particular gratitude goes to three couples who had served the school for many summers: Manuel and Eloisa Morales since 1948; Manuel and Elisa Asensio since 1952; and Luke and Anna Nolfi since 1954.

In many ways, the session of 1969 was a repetition of 1968. Drs. Casalduero, Camacho, and Sanchez were the familiar Visiting Professors. There were few new faces. Alfonso Gil gave a fine course on the Contemporary Theatre, and helped stage dramatic readings. An interesting experiment was the course on Spanish Influences on French Literature, taught in French for both schools by Mlle Florence Delay, an assistante at the Sorbonne. Emilio Nuñez again added much to the atmosphere as director of the bi-weekly folk singing and the excellent choir of sixty voices that sang Renaissance and Baroque music. The enrollment followed the national downward trend, dropping from the recent highs to 259, a loss of 36 from the maximum in 1967.

If the program of the school changed little, important changes were taking place in the administration. Dean Samuel Guarnaccia had led a rather peripatetic existence in recent years. Director of the Middlebury School in Spain in 1962-63, then Director of the Peace Corps in Peru, June 1964 to September 1965, member of the Vermont-Honduras Committee of the Partners of the Alliance beginning in 1966 with frequent trips to Honduras, then Director of our School in Spain again in 1967-68, he may have become restive on the Middlebury winter campus. He resigned as Professor of Spanish at the college in June 1968 and accepted an appointment as Director of Admissions at the Verde Valley School in Arizona. He fulfilled his functions in the summer of 1968 as thoroughly as ever, then returned as Dean in the summer of 1969, which he regret-

ROGER M. PEEL
Professor of Spanish, Middlebury College, 1969-; Dean of the Spanish Summer School, 1970-1973; Director of the Language Schools, 1973-

fully decided would have to be his last summer. During the year 1968-69 he was in Arizona, and had no responsibility for the administration of the school, but he continued to be helpful.

During his year in Spain 1967-68, Miss Nora Wright, A.B. and M.A., Middlebury, with three years of graduate study with New York University in Spain, was appointed Instructor in Spanish in the college, and Executive Secretary of the Spanish Summer School. Under my supervision she was then placed in full charge of the administrative work of the school during the academic years 1968-69 and 1969-70, including the preparations for the summers of 1969 and 1970. While carrying a full schedule of teaching in the Spanish Dept., she handled with efficiency and wisdom all the complex tasks that devolved upon her.

In the fall of 1969, the college was very fortunate to secure as the new Chairman of the Spanish Department, Dr. Roger M. Peel, B.A. Univ. of Manchester England, Ph.D., Yale; Assistant Professor and Director of Undergraduate Studies in Spanish at Yale. He had also taught at Harvard and Yale Summer Schools, and was a co-author of the M.L.A. Teachers' Guides for Spanish and French. Skilled and experienced in all aspects of the teaching of Spanish, he showed his interest at once in the Middlebury Spanish School and in the School in Spain. During his first winter, he was coached by Miss Wright, and was then named Dean of the Spanish Summer School effective for the summer of 1970. After only a year's experience at Middlebury, he was placed in charge of the Graduate School of Spanish in Madrid for the year 1970-71. During the year of his absence, Miss Wright was promoted to the rank of Assistant Dean of the Spanish School, and continued in full charge of all administrative and material arrangements through the summer of 1971, consulting with Dr. González and me, and with Dr. Peel by mail. Dr. Peel returned to Middlebury in September

1971, Miss Wright resigned, and he continued in the office of Dean of the Spanish School until he became Director of the Language Schools in September 1973.

Dr. González-López was uneasy about these complex changes. He urged that to avoid a division of authority we should combine the offices of Director and Dean in one person resident in Middlebury, and even offered to resign to make this possible. Such was not my intention, as I believed that for so large a school, the differing responsibilities of academic director and administrative dean were better separated and could be clearly defined. Other problems were serious, however. There had been considerable criticism among students for two or three years that the courses in Conversation, Grammar and Composition were not well run, and that instruction in certain other areas was weak. With the aid of Dean Guarnaccia and Miss Wright, I explained these criticisms to him in detail in an exchange of long letters in December 1969.

The offerings in the literature-civilization area were much changed in the summer of 1970. Dr. González-López eliminated all four of the previously heavily elected survey or panoramic courses. They had been criticized as attempting to cover too large an area, and therefore superficial, not of graduate quality. Instead, eighteen courses were offered, on more limited subjects, all but one of which were in literature, including monographic courses or on single authors like Ortega y Gasset or César Vallejo. The French School that summer gave only seventeen courses in the whole literature-civilization area. For a dependable nucleus of his teaching staff on literature, Dr. González reappointed as Visiting Professors the same three men as in 1969—Drs. Casalduero, Camacho and Sánchez. They were excellent teachers, the best of his faculty. Yet the title of Visiting Professor, as traditionally used in all the schools, designated a "visitor", one who came infrequently, and who brought something new or different from the outside. The only new men in the literature staff were Ramón Díaz from the University of Maryland, teaching El Romancero; and Dr. Peel, giving the Spanish-American short story.

Contrary to the expansion in literature, the courses in language were curtailed. Dr. González said he felt the school was "overloaded" with courses in language only fit for secondary school teachers; and he wished to "reduce to a minimum" the courses in conversation, and reduce the emphasis on the others—grammar, composition, phonetics. He stated that they are considered undergraduate courses by the university graduate schools and Ph.D. programs. Only four courses in language were offered, and the number of sections was cut. Improvements were made in the Grammar course which had been using an antiquated college-level textbook; and in the Composition course which had been composed chiefly of translation, with little practice in writing in Spanish. Attempts were made to adapt these courses to the special needs of the increasing numbers of Spanish-speaking Americans.

Changes occurred in the dormitory arrangements. Hepburn Hall was taken out of use again for repair and redecoration in 1969; and the Spanish School used Starr Hall and the new Milliken Hall just completed on the ridge north of the campus. Then in 1970, the Spanish School moved back into the northern half of refurbished Hepburn, sharing it with the growing Chinese School which was in the southern half. Starr and Painter were undergoing extensive repair. The Spanish School also used Gifford and Milliken Halls, with Proctor Hall its dining room as usual.

Dr. Emilio González-López submitted his resignation as Director of the Spanish School in September 1970. He had given the Spanish School seven years of dedicated and zealous attention as Director, following seventeen years as an effective teacher. The high reputation of his publications and the importance of his position in the doctoral program of the City University of New York had heightened the prestige of the Spanish School. His primary interest was in the preparation of university teachers, and in research. For this objective, his final report indicated his dissatisfaction with the Middlebury curriculum, and he recalled that as director, he had made every effort to reduce the emphasis which Middlebury placed on the language courses. This difference of objective caused frequent misunderstandings, especially with candidates for the Middlebury Doctorate in Modern Languages, both in Spanish and in the other schools. Although we have deep respect for Dr. González' sincere convictions, the Middlebury Language Schools have always been and must continue to be schools for the preparation of teachers, in secondary school and in college, not for university specialization or research. Our degrees of Master of Arts and Doctor of Modern Languages are degrees for teaching, not for research. We are not organized nor equipped for specialized literary studies. On the other hand, a mastery of the language in all its aspects is fundamental as a basis for all studies in literature and culture, and for the enlightened teaching of them.

Following Dr. González-López' resignation, Professor Robert G. Mead of the Univ. of Connecticut was appointed Director for three years, and Chairman of a Spanish Graduate Committee, under the supervision of F. André Paquette, the new Director of the Language Schools. Dr. Roger Peel continued as Dean. At the 1973 Commencement, Dr. Joaquín Casalduero was awarded the degree of Doctor of Letters, honoris causa, in gratitude for his many years of dedicated service since 1932, three times Acting Director. In September 1973, Dr. Roger Peel was named Director of the Language Schools; Dr. Eduardo Camacho became the Director of the Spanish School.

Chapter 9

THE ORIENTAL SCHOOLS

The Chinese School, 1966–

Ta-Tuan Ch'en, 1967, 1969-1973

"There are other languages in the world besides those of Western Europe", I wrote to President Stratton in 1958 in my report on the Summer Language Schools. I pointed out that our schools, at maximum capacity for 1959, could in 1960 add the facilities of a newly refinished Hepburn Hall. Instead of enlarging the present schools, I urged that the college should create a new school, adding another world language. This might be Arabic or Hindi, but after discussing the matter confidentially with several national leaders, I felt that the consensus seemed to be that a School of Chinese would fill the greatest need and add most to the reputation of Middlebury. I recommended that such action be given the most careful consideration.

It took eight years to bring the idea to fruition. In my report on the summer of 1959, I explained that we could not hope for NDEA support under the current law. NDEA Summer Institutes were limited to secondary school teachers; NDEA Area Centers were limited to centers operating during the academic year as well. The possibility of a School of Arabic had been preempted by the University of Michigan which had concentrated the leading Arabists at the Linguistic Institute there. The serious competition of 83 NDEA Summer Language Institutes, and the planning for our new Language Center occupied much of our attention.

President Armstrong took office on September 1, 1963. In my first report to him on the Language Schools of 1963, I again urged consideration of a new school. Allen Hall had just been completed, and although it had no dining hall, it offered an increased capacity of about forty places over the small campus houses it would replace. "The United States is becoming rapidly aware of the importance of the non-Western world, and on all sides we see the need of persons trained in the languages of the Middle and Far East. . . . Since the teaching staff available in these languages is extremely small, and the student demand at the advanced level also comparatively small, it is my thought that it might be wiser for Middlebury, instead of trying to create such a school on its own, to work out some basis of cooperation with one of the large universities which has a specialized program during the academic year, to continue such instruction on an intensive basis with somewhat the same faculty and student body at Middlebury during the summer." I had a strong preference for keeping the school at an advanced level like the other Middlebury schools, since beginners would have to speak English on campus, thus violating Middlebury's fundamental tenet.

President Armstrong not only approved; he gave me his active encouragement and participation. His close ties with Princeton were of inestimable value. We began immediately a campaign of investigation. I had a series of conversations with Fred Jackson of the Carnegie Foundation, with whom I was also working on the Consultative Service on Undergraduate Study Abroad, of the I.I.E. I explored the possibilities of NDEA support with Donald Bigelow and Lyman Legters of the Language and Area Studies, with my long-time friends Kenneth Mildenberger, Chief of the Division of College and University Assistance, and Lee Hamilton of the NDEA program, all in the U.S. Office of Education. President Armstrong approached his former colleagues at Princeton, especially Prof. Frederick Mote of the Dept. of East Asian Studies. In Princeton in December, I had a rewarding meeting with Professors Cuyler Young, Marius Jansen, and Ta-Tuan Ch'en, all of the Princeton Dept. of East Asian Studies, and who were to mean so much to us in the future. Through Professor Mote, we were also in touch with Prof. Robert Hightower of Harvard. I attended a meeting at Christmas in Chicago of the newly-formed Chinese Language Teachers Association, and talked with several of its leaders.

The net result of all these conversations was to give us guarded encouragement. The NDEA and the foundations were still supporting intensive work in Chinese in winter-summer programs, but were evaluating the results. The trend was toward helping students to begin their Chinese studies earlier, as undergraduates or even in high school. There was much interest in a projected full-scale review of methods, materials, and standards in the teaching of the critical languages. Dissatisfaction was expressed with the lack of success of some programs in imparting oral competence; and the hope that Middlebury might do better. Slow progress was being made in the construction and editing of teaching materials. There was an important difference between the materials used by Harvard and Princeton, and those used by Yale and Columbia. Competent teaching personnel was in short supply. There would be plenty of student applicants, but every one would expect full scholarship support. Financial subsidy was therefore indispensable, but we could propose neither a Summer Institute nor a Language and Area Center.

In this fluid situation, I saw the possibility of a new approach. After conferences with Dr. Armstrong and others, I presented to him on Jan. 8, 1964 a formal recommendation that the college offer a Summer School of Chinese in 1964, predicated on obtaining a *research grant* from the NDEA. Receiving immediate approval from the trustees, I forwarded to Kenneth Mildenburger (who had received an honorary degree from Middlebury the previous August) a draft of our proposal, asking him unofficially for his advice. The college would request a "Research Grant under NDEA Title VI for the purpose of determining the amount and kind of preparation needed to enable a student of Mandarin Chinese to use the spoken language exclusively in an intensive school situation, involving dormitory, dining-room and social activities as well as classroom and laboratory."

I explained the need for this research. Among the many programs of class-

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TA-TUAN CH'EN
Director of the Chinese Summer School, 1967, 1969-1973; friend and adviser in its founding

room Chinese, there were no audio-lingual "Middlebury-type" plans, and no careful study had been made of the point at which a student becomes able to use only Chinese in a total living situation. The determination of this point and the method of arriving at it is very important for the development of instructional material. Our proposed experiment would follow the standard pattern of the other Middlebury Language Schools: six weeks of intensive audio-lingual instruction; 15 students, isolated from other contacts, with separate dormitory and dining; a pledge of no-English; a year and a summer of study prerequisite for admission; a staff consisting of a director, one instructor, and an informant. We requested a grant of $13,850.

We were doomed to disappointment. A month later, Lee Hamilton in the Office of Education informed me that there was no chance of any money for a research grant; and was very discouraging about our getting any students with fellowships, either directly or by transfer from other institutions' winter programs. Dr. Mote at Princeton advised us that the materials he had counted on for intermediate level study would not be ready for the summer. It was already getting late to secure top quality staff for the summer of 1964. Dr. Armstrong and I decided regretfully to postpone further effort until 1965.

During the first semester of 1964-65 I was in Paris in charge of our Graduate School. Dr. Armstrong carried the burden of correspondence with our friends in Princeton, Harvard and Washington. In November, things began to happen again. Frederick Mote wrote from Bangkok the news, confirmed by Marius Jansen from Princeton, that Harvard had decided to abandon its summer instruction in Chinese language, planning instead to send its beginners and intermediates to Columbia. This posed something of a crisis to Princeton. It could no longer send the candidates for its Cooperative Program to Harvard for Beginning Chinese. The group of universities using the Y. R. Chao texts, the so-called Harvard-Princeton materials, would no longer be served by any summer intensive program in the east. The only continuing summer institutes were at Columbia and Yale, both using the different Yale materials and romanization. The Columbia program was considered to place insufficient emphasis on spoken Chinese, especially in the upper level courses.

The crisis presented a real opportunity to Middlebury; and there was an urgent exchange of letters with me in Paris. Before any decisions could be made, however, information came from Lyman Legters of the Office of Education on two crucial points. The entire list of institutions to be supported in the summer of 1965 had been completed in October, and no further proposals could be entertained. This effectively stopped all our plans for 1965. The other piece of news, a real breakthrough, raised our hopes high for 1966. It was the information that a change in policy would permit proposals in the future for cooperating summer programs not necessarily located at winter NDEA Centers. Such a precedent was being established for 1965. Without commitment, he implied that a proposal from Middlebury could be entertained for the summer of 1966, if it was so planned as to serve some of the regular NDEA Centers; and that fellowship holders in those Centers could be permitted to transfer to Middlebury for the summer.

Several important new factors now appeared. Most significant, we were being asked to accept beginners. Princeton urgently needed an intensive summer course for beginners to prepare them to enter its Cooperative Program (of undergraduates from other colleges). Harvard's abandonment of its summer beginning courses left a critical gap. Only by accepting beginners could we qualify for support from the NDEA. Middlebury's long tradition was opposed to accepting beginners, in any language, who become an English-speaking group in the school. Reluctantly I yielded, on condition that there be an effective physical isolation of the Chinese School, with all accommodations and facilities clearly separate from the other schools. I worried too that the intermediate and advanced Chinese students would not get the same total immersion that characterizes the Middlebury idea. Yet I felt compelled to give it a try.

The second new factor was the strong recommendation for a ten-week session, instead of our usual six weeks, actually 46 days. Leading Chinese teachers were urging the government to support only ten-week sessions. Princeton needed the assurance that beginning students would do a year's work in the summer so as to enter the second year there. Harvard had found that it could not do a satisfactory year's work in its eight-week session. While agreeing that Middlebury should do things in its own way, Professor Mote wrote to President Armstrong: "The Chinese centers of the country now have the need for a ten-week summer session in intensive beginning Mandarin, in addition to the needs for intermediate courses emphasizing the colloquial. . . . Can Middlebury be interested?" I answered that we definitely were, if the necessary logistics could be arranged. There would be problems for the housing and feeding of the school, as the maids, cooks and janitors usually expected a vacation in late August. Fraternity houses might be used if we could get the boys out right after Commencement. We were now thinking of a much larger school than in 1964.

The third major aspect to be considered was the staff. For a larger school we would need at least eight teachers. Qualified teachers of Mandarin by an oral method were not plentiful. Fewer still were experienced in the use of the Harvard-Princeton materials. One of the chief reasons for Harvard's abandonment of its summer program was the difficulty of securing a competent staff willing to teach for eight weeks, to say nothing of ten. Commitments would have to be made early in the year, perhaps long before Middlebury had a contract for NDEA support. Again, Dr. Armstrong and the trustees encouraged me to take the risk. Harvard's withdrawal would release some teachers. Princeton pledged assistance in our recruiting of both students and faculty.

The fourth essential feature of the proposed school was the teaching materials to be used. Princeton and Harvard were the chief proponents of the linguistic system and approach represented by the *Mandarin Primer* and other materials developed by Yuen-Ren Chao of Berkeley, and published at Harvard. They were basically different from the system used at Yale and Columbia. Princeton's project in Chinese linguistics was intended to develop more teaching materials in the same system, and train many more teachers qualified in their use. In fact, Prof. Jansen said quite frankly that the retention and improvement of the Chao system was one of the main reasons for Princeton's interest in a school at Middlebury. We could serve not only to prepare students for study elsewhere during the winter, but as a demonstration and testing ground for the system and the new materials to be produced.

The main guidelines were thus agreed upon during the winter and spring of 1965 after my return from France. In May, we learned that formal and complete applications for support and fellowships by the NDEA must be submitted in October. Our planning moved into specifics. Professors Mote and Jansen were most helpful in clarifying the terms of Princeton's cooperation and in recommending possible staff. Professor Donald Shively of the Dept. of Far Eastern Studies at Harvard gave me an excellent interview on desirable policies and the content of courses. Later I talked at length with Mrs. Rulan Pian and Dr. Ta-Tuan Ch'en, both then at Harvard, and obtained valuable advice about staffing, courses and materials. My contacts with the Office of Education were facilitated by the fact that I was also directing an official Evaluation of the NDEA Title VI Foreign Language Fellowships, which the American Council of Learned Societies had contracted to do for the Office of Education. My Advisory Committee included people of wide experience in these matters; and the task brought me into close rapport with officials concerned with our Chinese application.

Miss Chun-Jo Liu, Professor of Chinese at the Univ. of Minnesota, accepted our appointment as Director of the school in early September, and was very helpful in our search for teachers and in the planning of the curriculum. September was busy. The Language Schools' offices moved into the new Sunderland Language Center, which was dedicated on September 29. At the crucial point I had to spend a week in the hospital; but our applications for NDEA support went to Washington on time, thanks to the indispensable help of Peter Decker, Dr. Armstrong's assistant. Our proposal described the Middlebury Language Schools, their unique method, and the way we hoped to apply it and our facilities to the improvement of instruction in Chinese. Full information was given on the course offerings, the materials to be used, and the staff tentatively engaged. For an estimated enrollment of 40 students—25 undergraduates and 15 graduates—four levels of instruction would be offered. Stress was laid on our cooperation with Princeton and Harvard; indeed, our program was being offered at their specific request. We indicated that much use would be made of area and cultural materials as a basis for language practice. A detailed budget was presented, totalling $44,000, of which the Office of Education was asked for one-half. We requested fellowships for 20 undergraduates and 15 graduate students.

Welcome word came at the end of November that our proposal had been approved; but only $15,000 could be allocated for its support. We were required to submit a modified budget, eliminating certain items declared not allowable, such as board and room of the faculty, pro-rata cost of laboratory equipment, library materials, etc. By omitting administrative salary items, and making drastic cuts in others, such as travel and teaching supplies, we returned a revised budget of $32,000. A second revision in January made further "corrections" and reduced the allowable budget to $30,056, asking the Office of Education for one-half, or $15,028. This meant that the college would have to provide the other half, plus all the non-allowable items, which we considered essential, and the general overhead, only a part of which was included in the proposal under "indirect costs." Full support was immediately promised by Dr. Armstrong and the trustees. We had the green light.

Full and widespread publicity was urgent. We had been allotted 15 NDFL undergraduate and five graduate fellowships. We had to receive the applications by mid-February. Press announcements were made immediately, followed by a mimeographed brochure, mailed with a covering letter to key contacts. Application blanks were readied. Early in February the official bulletin was distributed in 5000 copies.

In the meantime, the definitive faculty had been appointed, with the help of Dr. Chun-Jo Liu and our friends at Princeton and Harvard. Miss Liu had had her undergraduate education in China; her Ph.D. in comparative literature was from Wisconsin. She had taught at British Columbia and Stanford, and was then at Minnesota. She took personal charge of the Beginning Course. In charge of Second-Year Chinese was Mrs. Beverly Hung Fincher, Assistant Professor at George Washington Univ. She had graduated from National Taiwan Univ., and had her Ph.D. in linguistics from Indiana. Dr. Yu-Kung Kao came to us from Princeton. After graduating from National Taiwan, he completed his Ph.D. at Harvard. He taught a part of Chinese 3, and also Chinese 6, Literary Chinese. Dr. Yan-Shüan Lao of the Univ. of Washington, Seattle, likewise graduated from National Taiwan and had his Ph.D. from Harvard. He taught two thirds of Chinese 3, and all of Chinese 4, Documents. Mr. Pao-Chu Chao came from Princeton, where he was a Lecturer, after studying and teaching in Nankai and Taiwan. He taught Chinese 5, Vernacular Texts. Three assistants, James R. Pusey from Harvard, Tsung-Shun Na from Indiana, and Miss Sze-Yun Ts'ui from Oberlin taught the oral practice sessions. Mrs. Niann-Ing Lao became a full-time Librarian, and Daniel Upham the school's secretary.

During the spring, I wrestled with the new and complex assignment of sorting and judging the applications for admission and for the National Defense Foreign

Language Fellowships (NDFL). Of the hundred inquiries received, almost all expected some kind of financial support. Formal applications were received from 75. I had to select those who were eligible under the rules, best qualified, and willing to accept a fellowship, then nominate them to Washington. Losses from multiple applications were replaced from an alternate list. Middlebury offered some assistance in stipends and waiterships. We counted heavily on Harvard and Princeton undergraduates and on the beginning students incoming into Princeton's Inter-University Cooperative Critical Languages Program. Dean Kassof of Princeton cooperated well in these applications. Other preparations included the ordering from Hong Kong and Taiwan of books, newspapers, and other reading materials for classes and for the library, the duplication of laboratory tapes, and the dittoing of much exercise material.

Eight years of endeavor came to fruition when the Middlebury Summer School of Mandarin Chinese opened on Wednesday, June 22, 1966. The opening meeting took place at 9:00 p.m. in the Delta Upsilon fraternity house. I introduced Miss Liu, who presented her faculty; and the students were briefed on the organization of the school, its program, and its regulations.

We were happy with the enrollment; we had estimated 40; 49 signed in that first day. There were 35 men, 14 women; 27 were undergraduates, 22 graduates. NDFL fellowships supported 20 undergraduates, five graduates. Four held Princeton Critical Language fellowships; six held Middlebury scholarships and waiterships; the remaining 14 were self-supported. They came from all over the United States, from California, Washington, Colorado, with a majority from the east. Twelve were preparing to go to Princeton in the fall; five to Harvard; two each to Berkeley, Denver, U.C.L.A., and the Univ. of Washington. Country-wide interest was evident. The quality was good. Only two students withdrew; 47 completed the ten weeks; and only one failed to achieve the graduate passing grade of 80. Enrollment by courses was 14 in Chinese 1; 21 in Chinese 2; seven in Chinese 3; and five in Advanced Chinese.

The beginners had a schedule of four hours daily, five days a week, plus two half-hours daily with tapes in the laboratory. Many spent more time than that. Y. R. Chao's *Mandarin Primer*, first 12 lessons, was the text, supplemented by the *Syllabus* and *Aids* written by his daughter Mrs. R. C. Pian, all published at Harvard. At first taught in English, Chinese gradually became the medium of instruction. The time was divided between grammar-syntax, sounds and vocabulary, using both the tonal and Wade-Giles spelling systems, oral practice, and writing. The goal was to give the student an active vocabulary of 1000 words, and the ability to write 600 characters.

Students who had had a year of Chinese were enrolled tentatively in Chinese 2. The same texts were used as in Chinese 1, with a rapid review, then the completion of lessons 13-24 of the *Mandarin Primer*, together with the reading of several articles and stories. The course was taught in Chinese except for occasional explanations. The goal was to enable the student to read 2000 characters and write 1000 from memory; to speak with some fluency on conversational topics, to write short paragraphs, and to read modern articles with the help of a dictionary.

Chinese 2 gave much difficulty because the students' one-year preparation was very heterogeneous. Some students were deficient in oral facility, others in grammar, others in vocabulary or in writing. These variations stemmed from the great dissimilarity of the courses from which they came. Three were permitted to drop back to Chinese 1. Remedial sections were created for extra contact hours stressing a particular deficiency, and requiring much extra work by the faculty and the students themselves. Reasonable homogeneity was achieved by the end of the ten weeks.

Chinese 3 set a program of three hours daily of class exercises in grammar, composition, readings and discussion on contemporary materials, with a half-hour in the laboratory. The class was taught exclusively in Chinese. There was extensive reading in various genres: essays on academic subjects, vernacular literature, newspapers and political writings.

The advanced students, those with at least three years of preparation, numbered only five. They took three courses, each of an hour daily: Chinese 5, Advanced Vernacular Texts, using a book by the same name by Miss Liu; Chinese 6, Literary Chinese; and Chinese 4, Historical and Contemporary Documents. All were taught exclusively in Chinese. Much other reading material was provided in mimeographed form. Chinese 4 was a service course, required of all third-year and advanced students. Students in Chinese 2 attended the lectures and discussed the topics in their oral sessions. Y. J. Chih, *A Newspaper Primer,* and W. S. Chi, *Readings in Communist Documents,* were among the required readings. The course was designed specifically to answer the Office of Education's insistence on area materials as a part of the intensive language programs.

With this description of faculty and courses, the account of other NDEA intensive programs normally ended; it was only a beginning for the Middlebury Chinese School. The students' whole life at the school constituted the environment in which they "lived the language." Three houses: the D.U. fraternity for the women, DKE and Hillcrest for the men, were their homes; they ate together in the DKE house. Members of the faculty lived in the same houses, in constant touch with the students. Advanced students signed a formal agreement to make Chinese their habitual means of communication; intermediate students, to use Chinese in all contacts to the utmost of their ability; and the beginning students, to replace English with Chinese as rapidly as possible. After the first three weeks, English was taboo in the dining room.

Many activities were organized to bring diversion and relaxation from the grind of classroom, laboratory and study. There was a coffee-break each mid-morning in the DKE lounge. Mr. Pusey, formerly of the Harvard Glee Club, directed a chorus which sang a repertory of Chinese songs. There were three picnics, on Chipman Hill and at Lake Dunmore; swimming, hiking, and team sports were enjoyed. Several all-Chinese movies were shown. Five distinguished lecturers visited the school, stayed several days, and participated in its life. Four gave their formal lecture in English, so as to be understood by the beginners, followed by informal discussions in Chinese. One even made herself understood in Chinese on Chinese poetry by students who had begun Chinese nine weeks before.

The school shared the facilities of Wright Theatre. The faculty staged a dramatic reading of a modern comedy, in Chinese. The crowning night was the student Festival, in the eighth week, in which each class presented a skit, entirely in Chinese—the beginners, a parody on a Wild West Show; the others gave take-offs of the faculty and classes, with good memorized dialogue and clever staging. All these activities helped students to acquire facility in a non-academic vocabulary, and gave them the satisfying sense of practical accomplishment.

A constructive start was made on a Chinese collection for the College Library. Dr. Ch'iu Kai-Ming, founder of the Harvard-Yenching Library, a friend of Miss Liu at Minnesota, compiled a selective list of books for us. With a modest budget of $2000, the books were imported during the spring and catalogued in the summer by Mrs. Lao. Current Chinese newspapers and periodicals were provided in a reading room at the school. The Chinese School office was in Sunderland.

The financial balance sheet, as reported to the Office of Education in September, showed a total expenditure by the college of $49,113. This included the "indirect costs", laboratory operation, board and room of the faculty, library acquisitions, and other "non-allowed" expenses. Income was $23,800 from tuition fees, and $15,028 from the NDEA; leaving a deficit of $10,285 to be assumed by the college.

The first Chinese School at Middlebury, avowedly an experiment, was a distinct success. It demonstrated above all that the Middlebury idea could be profitably applied to a difficult Oriental language; that a linguistic and cultural environment could be created at Middlebury, even with beginners participating. The program was unique also in bringing together in an intensive *language* program students whose academic-year interests were very diverse. The student body included seven majoring in history, five in political science, three in anthropology, others in economics, philosophy and sociology, as well as the 15 in East Asian studies. This variety of intellectual interests stimulated an adult exchange of information and opinion, in Chinese, which enriched the students' background, along with their competence in the language. The skillful and dedicated efforts of the faculty, and especially of the Director, Miss Liu, accounted for much of the school's success.

Two problems became clear. One was the shortage of experienced teachers of Mandarin. It is a difficult language and requires superior teaching, in small classes, optimally a ratio of one to five. Competitive bidding by schools, research grants, and other attractive opportunities, result in high salaries, great mobility, and a disinclination to teach oftener than an occasional summer. Instruction costs more than a student can normally pay. The other problem is the necessity of doing a year's work in a summer session. Ten weeks are required to do the job satisfactorily. Our students, weary at the end, admitted that they would prefer an eight-week session, but that it took ten to achieve the goal. It would usually be unwise for a student to take an intensive course every summer.

The session of 1966 was hardly underway when we had to formulate plans for 1967. A brochure issued by William J. Grupp of the Institutional Assistance Section, Office of Education, stated that proposals for 1967 should be submitted on July 15. Preference would be given to cooperative or rotating programs featuring intensive language courses, and to those that projected continuance for three to five years. We met the deadline, forwarding a 17-page statement of detailed plans. It was similar to the proposal for 1966, featuring the Middlebury intensive concept and the close cooperation with Princeton and Harvard. Miss Liu did not wish reappointment, and we secured the tentative acceptance of Dr. Ta-Tuan Ch'en of Princeton as Director. Only four courses would be offered; Chinese 4 was described as a complete unit with two parts: Literary Chinese, and Advanced Vernacular Texts. An enrollment of fifty students was proposed and 25 NDFL fellowships were requested.

I was notified by Mr. Grupp on September 30 that our proposal was *not* approved. Aside from the plea of limited funds, the chief reason given was that we were not a cooperating institution, since Harvard had arranged to send its students to Yale. The only summer programs in Chinese supported in the east were at Yale and Columbia. We also discovered that some administrator at Harvard had expressed doubts to the Office of Education about the continuance of the Middlebury School of Chinese. Professor Cuyler Young and his colleagues at Princeton, and the Program of Chinese Studies at Harvard, which had not been consulted, were all furious. At stake was the opportunity for students trained in the *Mandarin Primer* and related Harvard-Princeton teaching materials to have access to a summer school. Yale and Columbia used a quite different series of materials, based on a different linguistic approach. It would be difficult if not impossible for a student to change materials during the first two years. Without Middlebury, there would be no intensive summer program in the east using the Chao texts.

Though disappointed, I saw the situation as a challenge. With the strong encouragement of President Armstrong and the faculty at Princeton, I urged that our School of Mandarin Chinese be continued in 1967 without NDEA support. My arguments were: the success of the 1966 session; the advantages of continuity; the reputation, publicity, and friends it had gathered; our investment in the Chinese library; the active support of Princeton; the fact that we would be the only school in the east using the Harvard materials, and most of all, the only one in the country following the Middlebury concept of complete immersion in the language. I proposed a ten-week session; a curriculum reduced to Chinese 1, 2, and 3; a smaller faculty; an estimated enrollment of 30. My suggested minimum operating budget was $25,000, exclusive of overhead, laboratory, and the indirect costs. Tuition income estimated at $15,000 would leave a net deficit of $10,000. Within a week, the Budget Committee of the trustees gave me their approval. In conversations with Pres. Pusey of Harvard, President Armstrong was able to clarify the situation and receive the assurance that Harvard students could come to us if they wished. In spite of Princeton's efforts, the Office of Education could not or would not recant.

Our plans went into action. The session of 1967 opened on June 22 and lasted the full ten weeks. The Director was Dr. Ta-Tuan Ch'en, Associate Professor at Princeton. After study at Nanking, he received his M.A. from National Taiwan Univ., and his Ph.D. from Indiana. He had taught Chinese history at Taiwan; and Chinese language at Harvard in 1966. He had published articles on Chinese history, and *Reading and Conversation Materials for Beginning and*

Performance of the classic Chinese Opera Twice Entering the Palace

Intermediate Chinese, for the Princeton Linguistics Project. His wife, Mrs. Yung-Chi Ch'en, M.A. in Education from Southern Illinois, Lecturer at Princeton, was also a member of the faculty. Mr. Richard W. Wilson, Lecturer in Political Science at Princeton and candidate for the Ph.D., was appointed Dean. He aided in the selection of students and in publicity during the winter, and greatly relieved me in the administrative details of the school during the summer.

From Hamburg University, Germany, came Professor Jung-Lang Chao, M.A. Taiwan, Lecturer at Hamburg. Dr. Ying-Shih Yu, Ph.D. Harvard and Lecturer there after teaching at Michigan, was accompanied by his wife, Mrs. Monica Shu-Ping Yu, M.A. Indiana and Lecturer there. The assistants were Mrs. Diana Yu-Shih Mei and Mr. James R. Pusey accompanied by his wife Anne Chi-Fang. Beginning Chinese was taught by Dr. Ch'en, Second-Year by Mr. Chao. Both courses used the Chao *Mandarin Primer*, the *Syllabus* and *Aids* by Mrs. Pian, and Dr. Ch'en's *Reading and Conversation Materials*. Third-Year or Modern Chinese was taught by Dr. Yu, using the same texts as in 1966 plus Lyell's *The Lu Hsün Reader* and some anthologies. Four special lecturers visited the school.

The enrollment estimate was exact. Of the 30 students, 21 were men, 9 were women; 11 graduate students, 19 undergraduates. There were 15 beginners, six second-year, and nine third-year. Princeton sent eight with stipends from the Critical Language Program; six with Regional Studies grants, one from the Princeton-in-Asia Foundation; thus supporting half of our enrollment. Middlebury gave seven partial bursary scholarships. Most of the others were self-supported. The total unit fee was $900, including $500 for tuition. Allen Hall, newly finished, brought an improvement in the living arrangements. The women lived in one section, and the school enjoyed the exclusive use of the fine lounge and its kitchenette, an excellent facility for the general meetings and the morning coffee-break. Hillcrest still had to be used for men. The dining-room was on the top floor of Proctor Hall, and the meals, served from the main kitchen, were greatly improved.

Part of the faculty lived off campus, but all maintained close contact with the students at table and in the usual program of extracurricular events. A memorable occasion was the annual Festival. The three classes presented skits in Chinese, entitled "The Last Day of Chairman Ch'en", "The Pekingbury Summer School", and "A Communist Work-Team." The Glee Club, directed by Mr. Pusey, sang Chinese songs. The climax was a scene from the Chinese opera *Twice Entering the Palace*, performed by the faculty in full costume, accompanied on the traditional Chinese violin by Mr. Chao. A final banquet was the occasion for awards and prizes. The session was such a success as to set at rest any doubts about the school's continuance.

In the hope that the Office of Education had been enlightened by the episode of the preceding year, I prepared a new proposal for NDFL support for 1968, and forwarded it to Mr. Stanley Wilcox of the Institutional Support Section in July. The wheels ground, and on Sept. 21 I received from him a telegram that our program for 1968 was approved, and $9000 allocated for support. Later we were assigned a quota of five graduate and 15 undergraduate fellowships, for a total allocation later raised to $22,000. In regard to the fellowships, I had the pleasure of working with D. Lee Hamilton and John Cookson whom I knew well from my A.C.L.S. evaluation of the NDEA Title VI fellowships.

We went to work with enthusiasm, but problems remained. Dr. Ch'en had been so successful as Director that we hoped to hold him. In October, however, a most cooperative letter from Professor Mote explained that we could count on the continued total support of Princeton's Chinese Department, but that neither he, because of a sabbatical, nor Dr. Ch'en, because of urgent obligations to research and a forthcoming book, could take the directorship for 1968. After careful exploration, and on Dr. Mote's recommendation, we appointed Mr Meng Ma. Educated at Yenching University and in London, he had been since 1959 Principal of the Chinese Language School of the Univ. of Hong Kong. His distance from Middlebury slowed but did not diminish his participation in the planning. Richard Wilson continued as Dean, and expeditiously handled the bulk of correspondence with students, their applications for fellowships, and the ordering of books, especially during my own absence in the Orient from Christmas to March. Dr. Ch'en continued to give us the benefit of his experience and wisdom.

The faculty numbered ten full-time teachers for the 48 students. Those returning were Dr. and Mrs. Y-S Lao, J-L Chao (then at Princeton), the Puseys, and Mrs. Ch'en. Mrs. Ch'en's return was an unexpected pleasure. Several late enrollments for Chinese 2 created a serious need for an additional teacher to keep the drill classes small and efficient. As the session was just starting, it was extremely difficult to find a competent teacher. In the emergency, Mr. Ma called on the Ch'ens for help, and Mrs. Ch'en consented to come without her husband. New to the faculty were Mr. Hai-Tao Tang, M.A. Taiwan, Instructor at Princeton; his wife Mrs. Nai-Ying Y. Tang, M.A. Taiwan Normal and Lecturer there, then on the research staff at Princeton; and Mrs. Huei-Ling Dzo Worthy, B.A.

Chinese Univ. of Hong Kong, Instructor at Princeton. Our dependence on the cooperation of Princeton is plain from the fact that six of our staff of twelve came from Princeton. The curriculum was expanded to add Chinese 4, Literary Chinese, at the third-year level, taught by Mr. and Mrs. Tang; and Chinese 5, Fourth-Year, Advanced Vernacular Texts and Modern Chinese, taught by Dr. and Mrs. Lao. Mr. Ma taught the Beginners. Mrs. Pusey became invaluable as the school's secretary.

The students, 31 men, 17 women; 28 undergraduates, 20 graduates, were an excellent group. Beginners numbered 16; Second-year 13; Third-year 12; three enrolled in Literary Chinese, and four in Fourth-year Modern. Of the 50 students accepted, two did not register; only one dropped out during the session. The remaining 47 worked faithfully through the ten long weeks; 45 took the final examinations graded on graduate school standards, and received 25 A's, 17 B's, 2 C's (undergraduates) and only one failure. Besides the five NDFL graduate fellowships (one withdrew), and 15 NDFL undergraduate fellowships (one withdrew), ten undergraduates were supported by the Critical Languages Program, five by Princeton Regional Studies grants, and two by Princeton-in-Asia grants. Seven received Middlebury partial bursary scholarships; only six students arranged their own support. Four students came from George Washington Univ.; and two from Harvard, although in 1968 Harvard experimented with an eight-week Beginners' course for one-semester credit.

The larger school required more space; we used D.U. House, besides a section of Allen Hall, and the substandard Hillcrest. Some of the faculty lived in the DKE House; others in Allen and Hillcrest. The dining hall was again in Proctor, where the faculty presided over the tables. Mr. Ma continued the rich schedule of extracurricular activities—the coffee-breaks, several motion pictures, visiting lecturers, Mr. Pusey's choir, picnics and excursions, the Festival with a portion of a Chinese opera in costume, and the final banquet. The pledge was taken with great seriousness; and beginners were doing nearly everything in Chinese after the fifth week. Mr. Ma contributed greatly by his professional experience and personal charm.

The NDEA subsidy of $9000 was not sufficient to balance the budget, but the deficit was minimal. Travel was a larger expense than usual; the books and teaching equipment for Chinese are more costly; 96 mimeograph stencils were cut for us in Hong Kong. The net instructional expense was about $40,000; tuition income at $525 per student was $25,200. The subsidy of $9000 left a net deficit of about $6000 to be absorbed by the college. I believe the consensus was that the prestige gained by Middlebury was worth that.

Good news came our way in the autumn of 1968. We were delighted to learn that Dr. Ta-Tuan Ch'en had been able to arrange, at personal sacrifice, to return as Director for 1969. His continuing advice had been precious; his personal direction all the more. Then in October, the Office of Education notified us that our proposal for 1969 had been approved, with an allocation of a $10,000 subsidy. We were awarded five graduate and 15 undergraduate grants as before. For our fourth summer we had assurances of cooperation not only from faithful Princeton, but also from George Washington, Minnesota, Cornell, Harvard, Georgetown, all of which promised to orient toward us any of their

CHINESE SCHOOL FACULTY, SUMMER OF [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Margaret [illegible] purposes [illegible]

In 196[illegible] Dr. A. L[illegible] the 196[illegible] faculty [illegible] Mr. Liang, the [illegible] Mrs. Yu and Miss Warren. Mr. Edward W[illegible] the Dean. [illegible] of Princeton [illegible] NDEL [illegible] M.A. [illegible] Mr. [illegible] M.A. [illegible]

[illegible] specifically [illegible] Mr. [illegible] Dr. [illegible] Mr. [illegible] called Cantonese [illegible] Dr. [illegible] Mr. [illegible] Chinese [illegible] Dr. [illegible] the various courses, there were no mere "assistants" or informants, but that each one of his staff had high competence for his assigned task, and that all ranked equally in professional status. All were very generous in giving many extra hours to their classes, when added drill sessions were required.

There were 53 students in 1969: 28 women and 25 men, more women than men for the first time. Thirty were undergraduates, 23 were graduates. Twelve were supported by Princeton; 20 by the NDFL; one was a teacher at West Point; eight held Middlebury waiterships. Prof. Nicholas Clifford of the Middlebury History Dept. was an enrolled student; he later became Dean of the school. There were no withdrawals; all awardees enrolled and completed the course. The quality of the graduate students was conspicuously good. More than 50 formal applications were received; 15 awards could have been used worthily. Six students came from Harvard, four from Boston University, two from Cornell. Beginners numbered 20; Second-year 11; Third-year 15; Classical three, Fourth-year four.

The summer proved to the satisfaction of everyone that students who have completed the ten-weeks course here have done the equivalent of an academic year's work, and will have no difficulty with the following academic year's program at any institution using the *Mandarin Primer* and similar materials. Students who completed Chinese 1 here in 1968 were among the better students in Second-year at Princeton in the Critical Language Program. One of them returned here in 1969 and did well in Third-year; three years of Chinese in a year and two summers! Our faculty agreed that in addition to reading and structure, the speaking ability of a Middlebury student was generally better than that of a student in a corresponding academic year.

New features appeared in the already rich schedule of extracurricular activities. Faculty wives and students studied Chinese recipes and prepared a special dinner one evening, serving a full Chinese menu. The techniques of Chinese painting were demonstrated, and many students met twice a week evenings to practice the art. A lesson in shadow boxing roused much interest, and several students continued practicing. Mrs. Ch'en offered a regular class in calligraphy, which became popular. Such stimulating variety aided concentration, but helped to reduce the tension.

Dr. Ch'en decided to continue as Director for the 1970 session. It was a difficult decision, as he had other obligations; but Princeton supported him in it. Middlebury played an important role in Princeton's plan for Chinese studies, both for the preparation of its students, and for the development of teaching materials. Thirteen students came from Princeton, ten of them supported by it. Six of the teachers, the dean, and the secretary all were from Princeton. A great deal of the planning, the recruiting of staff and the selection of students were done at Princeton during the winter of 1969-70 by Dr. Ch'en and Mr. Worthy, in full coordination with me at Middlebury.

The session of 1970, the fifth of the Chinese School, was marked by the founding of the sister Japanese School under the direction of Dr. Hiroshi Miyaji. We could now speak of our program in East Asian Studies. Although the schools were administered separately, our proposal to the Office of Education was made jointly; and our bulletins were combined. The cover of the attractive January bulletin for both schools repeated the design of the Chinese summer house on a cliff, with Chinese and Japanese characters, and pale green bamboo branches adorning the inner pages; 8500 copies were distributed. The experience of the Chinese School was shared with the Japanese School; friendly cooperation and emulation characterized the relationship from the beginning.

Our program was approved by the Office of Education. A subsidy of $10,000 and 29 NDFL fellowships were authorized to be divided between Chinese and Japanese. Only $26,100 was at first allocated for the fellowships, whereas our inclusive fee was $1000 and we were expected to pay travel and dependents' allowances. Late in May, four more fellowships were authorized, for a total of $29,737, confirmed two days after the schools opened. They were divided, 17 for the Chinese School, 11 for the Japanese School. Over 125 applications were received for the Chinese fellowships; 24 of the 59 students received no support.

Of the total enrollment of 59, 31 were men, 28 were women; also, 31 were undergraduates, 28 were graduates. There were 17 beginners, 13 Second-year, 16 Third-year, six Third-year Classical, and five Fourth-year. For the second time, third-year students outnumbered the second-year. No change was needed in the curriculum; the faculty also changed little. Mrs. Yu was unable to come; she was replaced by Mr. Hai-Tao Tang who had been here in 1968. The Puseys were in Hong Kong; and were replaced by Mr. Dian Min Keng of Princeton, and his wife who acted as secretary. Mr. Pao-Tien Tseng, Instructor at Rutgers, was added, giving a teaching faculty of eleven. Living arrangements were improved. The school moved into the newly refurbished and spacious Hepburn Hall, south side; the dining room was in East Forest. The D.U. House was again used as a lounge, classroom, and faculty residence. With the tuition fee at $550, plus the $6000 share of the NDEA subsidy, the entire academic operating expense of the school left a deficit of $6000, as compared with $3700 in 1969.

It was an excellent session. Dr. Ch'en had molded the faculty into a smoothly working team. Teaching materials had been coordinated through several summers, and the procedures of preliminary testing for placement, and the final examinations had become standardized. Students coming from all over the United States, and even from Holland, and with widely divergent academic and professional objectives, created a cosmopolitan and stimulating atmosphere for the informal practice of the language. The varied program of activities was continued, and student interests in special skills further developed. Mrs. Ch'en's calligraphy, Mrs. Worthy's painting, Miss Lee's shadow boxing, the cooking class, Mr. Tien's chess—all these brought further expansion of active vocabulary.

Dr. Ch'en's report on the summer discussed the reasons why at the present time, the Chinese School does not offer the Master's degree, as do the other Middlebury Language Schools. The field of Chinese studies is not as highly developed as the Western language programs; there are not as many teachers or students, especially at the secondary school level, not as many centers, and the students are not as advanced. The difficulty of the language and the time required to reach an advanced stage are among the reasons. A meaningful, respected M.A., based on courses in literature and culture, taught in Chinese, would require a competence found only in students who would not be interested in an M.A. because they are already well along in a Ph.D. program at some major Sinological center. There are comparatively few of the secondary school teachers from whom the other schools draw a large percentage of their students. This does not downgrade the Middlebury Chinese School, he wrote. It merely defines realistically the important role it has to play for the present. It should continue to provide students with a solid training in the Chinese language, the sort of training they do not receive elsewhere; and continue to attract and feed into the field students with the best possible language preparation for the many professional disciplines open to them. Middlebury can make itself even more universally recognized as *the* intensive summer school of Chinese in the country. Dr. Ch'en felt that while doing this, we might begin to explore the possibilities of setting up an affiliated overseas center, and of offering a special teacher-training program of the M.A.T. type.

Application was made to Washington for continued NDFL support in 1971. Funds had been cut, however; no subsidy or fellowships were made available. Princeton's Critical Languages Program was also drastically curtailed. The strength and reputation of the school, under Dr. Ch'en's continuing leadership, assured not only its survival but another successful summer. The enrollment soared to 96, since many students came to us from programs which had closed for lack of subsidy. The session was reduced to eight weeks to cut costs. Course 5 was somewhat changed, becoming Readings in Culture and History, with the collaboration of visiting lecturers.

NDFL support was renewed in 1972, and a Guaranteed Insured Loan Program aided other students. The ten-week session was restored. There were 202 applications, but in order to maintain high standards, it was decided to limit the enrollment to 80. Actually, there were 84, representing 45 institutions. In 1973, Dr. Ch'en, who had directed the school for five summers, was on leave. Mrs. Helen T. Lin, Chairman of the Chinese Dept. at Wellesley, who had been a member of the 1972 faculty, was named Acting Director; and she became the Director in 1974. Federal support for summer schools was no longer significant; and as in 1971, many students who had gone elsewhere for a subsidy came to Middlebury paying their own way. The enrollment reached a surprising 112 in 1973, and 114 in 1974. A corresponding increase was made in the faculty. The session was reduced to nine weeks, still covering a year's work by intensive programming. With dynamic charm, Mrs. Lin has continued the strong policies and traditions which Dr. Ch'en's genius had created, and which characterize the school.

The Middlebury Summer School of Mandarin Chinese has successfully adapted the Middlebury Language Schools' unique formula of isolation and concentration to the difficult study of the Chinese language. Under the guidance of directors thoroughly in sympathy with the concept, skillful in its application, and aided by a congenial resident faculty, the students live in an environment which at all times and in many varied activities multiplies their acquisition of the language. In spite of the fatiguing grind of the long session, and in spite of the handicaps suffered by and even occasioned by the beginners, the students recognize that the concentration is rewarding. The constant contact with the language and with the many aspects of its culture builds confidence in the use of the language and its special patterns of communication.

THE ORIENTAL SCHOOLS

The Japanese School

Hiroshi Miyaji, 1970 –

The success of the Chinese School now assured, it was time to look ahead again. I was therefore delighted to receive from Professor Marius B. Jansen of the Dept. of East Asian Studies at Princeton, who had been so helpful in the plans for the Chinese School, a letter dated June 13, 1968. After expressing his satisfaction with our Chinese program, he said, "I am writing now to propose that we begin work on the second step, that of Japanese. We discussed this together some time ago, and your decision to see how the Chinese program went was altogether wise and logical. With its success, our needs in the Japanese field become more evident." His long and thoughtful letter explained the need for the same sort of articulated instruction at the first and second year levels that our Chinese School provided. He felt that the meager sources of qualified Japanese teachers were improving, and that there was good hope of cooperation with other universities. There was a growing amount of material for instruction, and, fortunately, no ideological clashes about romanization. On the Middlebury side, our experience with the Chinese School was encouraging; and the construction of the new Hadley and Milliken Halls promised to provide the necessary additional space.

The pressure of the summer session of 1968 was upon us, however; and no early decisions were possible. After conversations with Pres. Armstrong, I continued through the autumn an exchange of long letters with Professor Jansen. We explored the possibilities for the administration, the curriculum, sponsorship by Princeton and other institutions, and support from the NDEA. His letter of February 28, 1969 was particularly helpful. I then made a definite request to Pres. Armstrong for authority to take the next steps. On April 12, 1969, he and the trustees authorized me to proceed on a tentative basis to organize a Japanese School on the lines we had discussed, subject to final confirmation if the school could be made to support itself financially.

There was much to be done, and soon; for the application for NDEA support had to be submitted before the end of June. The next weeks were therefore a frantic medley of final arrangements for the summer of 1969, and detailed plans for the "Summer Intensive Program of East Asian Studies" of 1970. The support of Princeton was basic for us; but at first, its plans were uncertain, and included the possibility of summer work in Tokyo. Toward the end of May, the situation was clarified and Princeton asked us to go ahead. I spent a rewarding day at Princeton in early June, in a discussion of specific steps with Professors

Marius Jansen and Mantaro Hashimoto, both of the Dept. of East Asian Studies.

Of first importance was the selection of a director. After careful consideration, the choice fell on Dr. Hiroshi Miyaji, Associate Professor in the Dept. of Oriental Studies at the Univ. of Pennsylvania. We were fortunate to secure his acceptance and hearty cooperation, even though at that time we were unable to give him a definite appointment. Educated in Japan, A.B. from Kyoto University with a major in philosophy, he taught and did graduate study in Japan. He then came to Stanford University where he earned the M.A. in philosophy in 1961 and the Ph.D. in linguistics in 1965. He taught Japanese at Stanford for eight years, and was Assistant Director of the Stanford Center in Tokyo in 1961. He has authored a *Frequency Dictionary of Japanese Words,* and many articles. Both his scholarly standards and his administrative ability quickly became apparent. He conferred in close cooperation with Professors Jansen and Hashimoto at Princeton, as well as with me.

The major decisions were soon made, and an application for support was sent on June 30 to the Office of Education, Division of Foreign Studies, under the NDEA Intensive Language Program regulations. Our Chinese School and our Japanese School were presented together as an Intensive East Asian Studies Program, but they would be administratively separate, each with its own director, staff and budget. They would each last ten weeks concurrently. The Japanese School would offer only Beginning and Intermediate Japanese, doing the equivalent of a year's work in each course, by an intensive schedule of 25 class contact hours weekly and an hour daily of individual practice in the laboratory. The specific objective of the intensive program at Middlebury, as of the Chinese School, was to articulate with the courses at Princeton and other cooperating colleges, so that a student might continue there in the fall in the next higher course. The same course materials and tapes would be used. Dr. Miyaji wrote the descriptions of the two courses, in consultation with Dr. Hashimoto.

The "total immersion" features of the Middlebury method and the co-curricular activities were stressed in the application. Japanese students would live in a college dormitory, entirely separate from the other schools, and take their meals in a separate dining room, in close contact with faculty members. Although the usual Middlebury pledge of "no-English" would be unrealistic, second-year Japanese students would be required to promise to use the language as much as possible, and beginners were expected to do so by the middle of the session. A grant of $20,000 was requested for the two schools, and a total of 50 fellowships: ten graduate and 15 undergraduate awards for the Japanese School. The target enrollment was stated as 40 students in Japanese, half graduate, half undergraduate; half beginners and half second-year. Professor Jansen kindly wrote supporting letters to officials of the Office of Education, Dr. John Cookson and Dr. Stanley Wilcox. Dr. Wilcox visited Middlebury in July for a tour of inspection.

The cooperation and support of other colleges besides Princeton was essential, not only as policy required under the NDEA program, but also to assure the necessary enrollment. In mid-June an extensive series of telephone calls enabled me to talk personally with the heads of East Asian study programs in many colleges, and to get their assurance of cooperation, either because they did not

HIROSHI MIYAJI
Founding Director of the Japanese Summer School, 1970-1972, 1974-

have a summer program in Japanese, or because they liked our materials, the intensive method, and the co-curricular life. Among such institutions were Georgetown, Cornell, Bucknell, Wesleyan, Rutgers, Univ. of Massachusetts, Connecticut College. Relations were cordial with Harvard, Yale, and American University, but they had their own summer programs, and in a sense we were competing with them.

We waited anxiously during the summer of 1969 for the decision of the Office of Education on our application. It came at the first of September, approving our program, and giving us about half of what we had requested: a grant of $10,000 to be divided between the Chinese and Japanese Schools, and the authorization to give 29 fellowships, to be allocated as we chose, between Chinese and Japanese, graduates and undergraduates. Could we make a go of it? I decided to try, and on September 10, submitted to Pres. Armstrong and the trustees a revised "actual operating" budget. In its simplest terms, it proposed a school of 30 students, paying $550 tuition, plus two-fifths of the NDEA grant, for a total income of $20,500. The expenses proposed were salaries of the director, one professor and four assistants, for a sum of $14,000, plus $8000 in faculty board and room, secretarial, books and miscellaneous costs, for a total operating expense, not including "indirect costs", of $22,000. This left an estimated operating deficit of $1500. Within the week, Dr. Armstrong and the trustees told me to go ahead; they would find the extra funds.

With his appointment as Director of the Japanese School definitely confirmed, Dr. Miyaji naturally wanted to see the Middlebury campus and the location of his school. His visit on October 10 gave him the occasion to meet Dr. Armstrong and Mr. Rikert, to inspect the buildings that he would use, especially the Sunderland Center and the Freeman Laboratory, and to discuss in detail his staff, the bulletin and other publicity, his budget, student applications and admission procedures.

Dr. Miyaji moved promptly and efficiently to name his faculty. Preferring to take personal charge of the course in Intermediate Japanese, he secured Professor Matsuo Soga to give the Beginners' course. Dr. Soga was Assistant Professor of Japanese and Linguistics in the University of Iowa. After a B.Ed. from Tohoku University, he earned a B.A. and an M.A. in English Literature in this country, and completed his Ph.D. in Linguistics at Indiana. Four other teachers were engaged to assist with the classes, drill, and laboratory work. Miss Linda Klepinger, M.A. Harvard, teaching fellow in Japanese and Ph.D. candidate at the Univ. of Pennsylvania; and Howard Sugimoto, M.A. Univ. of Washington, also teaching assistant and Ph.D. candidate at the Univ. of Pennsylvania, assisted Dr. Miyaji in Intermediate Japanese. Miss Klepinger served as counselor to the students and administrative secretary to Dr. Miyaji. Mr. Sugimoto was in charge of the extracurricular activities. Assisting Dr. Soga in the Elementary course were Miss Carole Sherman, M.A. Stanford, and Ph.D. candidate at the Univ. of Chicago; and Kiyoshi Yamazaki, educated in Japan, copy-writer in the Time-Life office in Tokyo for four years, then instructor in Japanese at Princeton. The methods of instruction were significantly aided by having both native and bilingual non-native assistants in the two courses.

An intensive campaign of publicity began in October. The First Announcement of the Middlebury Summer Schools, a simple blue folder, included all nine schools, but featured the East Asian Studies on the centerfold, announcing the first session of the Japanese School, with a description of its curriculum and life. Dr. Miyaji wrote personal letters to the heads of East Asian studies in many institutions asking their cooperation in sending students to us. He endeavored to get gifts of funds for scholarships, books and tapes. At the M.L.A. meeting in Denver at Christmas, he publicized the schools at the joint session of the Association of Teachers of Chinese and Japanese. In January, the detailed Bulletin of the Schools of Chinese and Japanese was published. It was an artistic 12-page bulletin with cover in light green, carrying Chinese and Japanese characters on a background of an Oriental painting of a summer house in the mountains. Containing full information on the faculty, the content and method of the two courses in Japanese, the text-books to be used, fees, and fellowships, the bulletin was distributed widely to mailing lists supplied by Dr. Miyaji, to the Association of Japanese Teachers, and in general to the college list.

The next period of major activity came in late March and early April, in regard to the applications for admission and NDFL fellowships. By our deadline of March 15 we had received 57 applications, 40 graduates and 17 undergraduates. As in the Chinese School, we had to select the best and most eligible, secure their definite acceptance on special forms, and nominate them to Washington before the end of April. We had originally been authorized 29 fellowships to be divided between Chinese and Japanese; but the amount of money allotted was only $26,000, whereas our fees were $1000 per student and we were supposed to pay travel and dependents' allowances. Realistically we could expect to award only eight or nine to Japanese applicants. At the very opening of the session, four more fellowships were made available to the two schools. It was a complicated task to choose the most worthy, making sure of their eligibility; to balance graduates against undergraduates, to make up an alternate list in case of withdrawals, a similar list for waiterships, a list of students accepted for the school but without support, and a final listing of rejections. I made preliminary recommendations and sent the whole package to Dr. Miyaji, who promptly and carefully went over all the material and made the final decisions.

The new Middlebury Summer School of Japanese opened on the evening of June 14, 1970 in Allen Hall lounge. Dr. Miyaji and I made welcoming speeches, and he outlined the plan of the school. Enrollment had hit the target of 30, but three did not appear, forfeiting their deposit, and one withdrew later, leaving a net of 26 who completed the summer. There were 17 men and nine women; 18 graduates and eight undergraduates. The final count showed 11 enjoying NDFL fellowships; five were supported by the Princeton Regional Studies Program, and one by the Princeton Critical Language Program. Four held waiterships paying one-half of their fees. Two had other outside subsidies. Only three were wholly dependent on their own support. They divided almost evenly between the courses: 14 beginners and 12 intermediates.

The course in Beginning Japanese aimed to teach the basic grammatical structure and the vocabulary of modern colloquial Japanese, Tokyo speech, through aural-oral drills and exercises. E. H. Jorden's *Beginning Japanese* was the text-book, and both parts were completed by the end of the ten weeks, although the time was too short for thorough absorption of the last part. Primary emphasis was on hearing and speaking in the first five weeks; Kana (syllables) and Kanji (written characters) were introduced gradually and drilled. Instruction was begun in English; the use of Japanese was increased rapidly as the course advanced. Audio-visual materials were extensively used, especially the tapes made for use with the Jorden text. By the end of the session, the beginners were expected to have an active speaking vocabulary of 1500 words, and to be able to carry on simple conversations within those limits. They were pledged to use the language whenever possible.

The course in Intermediate or Second-Year Japanese aimed to give a good control of modern colloquial grammar, and of a vocabulary adequate for reasonable fluency in a discussion of intelligent subject matter. Jorden's *Beginning Japanese* was reviewed, especially the last part; and 30 chapters of Hibbett and Itasaka's *Modern Japanese* were read. Emphasis was placed increasingly on reading and writing, with a vocabulary of 1000 Kanji. All classwork except an occasional explanation of a point of grammar was conducted in Japanese. Audio-visual materials were much used. Students discussed mature topics orally, and wrote short essays in Japanese. They signed a pledge to use Japanese to their maximum ability as their habitual and preferred means of communication.

In both courses, the standard schedule became two hours each morning of grammatical analysis, instruction in sounds, and vocabulary; then an hour each morning and each afternoon of oral practice and discussion, spaced with rest periods and coffee breaks. Each student individually spent at least two half-hours in the laboratory with the tapes and records. The more conscientious students spent much more, and still felt frustrated by the difficulty of the language.

In one important area—books and library resources—we could make only a beginning. The budget allocated $1000; most of it was spent, and much more was needed. The College Library had no one able to catalog Japanese books. They were placed temporarily in a special section not conducive to effective use. Japanese newspapers and magazines were supplied to Allen Hall lounge.

All the students lived in Allen Hall, and three of the faculty: Dr. Soga as Faculty Resident, Mr. Sugimoto and Miss Sherman. The lounge was reserved for the school's exclusive use. The students were cautioned not to speak English to the German School students who lived in another part of Allen Hall; nor to the Italian School students in West Forest where they took their meals. This lack of separate unit facilities has always plagued the Language Schools.

Constant attention was given to the creation of a Japanese atmosphere, so that the students would be encouraged to practice the language in a socio-cultural context. The excellent program of co-curricular activities provided variety and relaxation from the heavy demands of study. Special lecturers included Professor Marius Jansen of Princeton, Professor Akira Komai of the Univ. of Wisconsin, Miss Barbara Ruch of the Univ. of Penn. and Professor William Naff of the Univ. of Mass. These visitors spent several days at the school, taking their meals with the students and conducting informal discussions. Many motion picture films were presented: two full-length features, and many documentaries, shown at 5 p.m. at Sunderland. Mr. Sugimoto, in charge of activities, took the school to Montreal on an excursion, and organized sports contests. Even lessons in karate and judo were available. Coffee-breaks in the lounge, picnics, a swim in the college pool, a game of chess or volleyball—all these became the background for the main object, "to live it in Japanese."

In his final report, Dr. Miyaji said he felt that the first summer had been successful. Both in quantity and in quality, the achievement of the students was at least as good and probably better than in any other summer program in Japanese. The students were of unusually high calibre and withstood well the tremendous pressure. He had been ready to lower the very high objectives of the two courses if necessary, but was not forced to. He gave much credit to the quality and strong motivation of the students, and to the faculty's success in developing a good group spirit. The students' mastery of the various linguistic skills was good. He regretted not emphasizing the aural-oral aspect even more, but their accomplishments were in many cases greater than for students taking the same course during the academic year. Dr. Miyaji's chief comments on the first summer concerned the unsatisfactory dining-hall situation, which indicated a lack of understanding of the real significance of meal-times in the Middlebury language program; the insufficiency of the library; the lack of offices for the faculty; the lack of adequate help by a bi-lingual secretary; and most of all, the psychological problems which the "pledge" and "total immersion" created for beginning and intermediate students.

Dr. Miyaji also conducted a searching student evaluation of the program through a 14-page questionnaire. The students' comments centered around the lack of time to accomplish the objectives; the crowding of material, especially the written, without sufficient time to drill and absorb, or use and acquire familiarity and fluency. They found the pressure fatiguing, and some felt that the last two weeks were less effective. Some thought they accomplished more in individual laboratory practice than in the group drill sessions. The consensus gave strong approval to the school's program and to its director. My final report to the Office of Education was able to document the positive success of the school and of its unique Middlebury characteristics.

My successor, Mr. André Paquette, made out the application to the Office of Education for an NDEA grant and fellowships for the summer of 1971, with my cooperation. We signed and forwarded it in July. We had been warned that Congress would probably cut the funds for these programs if indeed it did not cancel them entirely. President Armstrong and all our directors wrote to Senator Aiken and others in Washington to plead for the continuance of federal support. We were doomed to disappointment; no federal subsidy of any kind was made for the session of 1971. Princeton support, though continuingly loyal, was curtailed for lack of funds. Our groundwork and reputation were solid, however; and under the strong leadership of Dr. Miyaji, the school functioned successfully, with a large enrollment of 49. Some students came to us from other summer schools which had closed. The length of the session was cut to eight weeks, reducing the costs; and the third-year level was added.

The NDFL returned in 1972 with support for 13 students. Dr. Miyaji, aided by Dr. Soga and a staff of nine, reinstated the ten-week schedule and strengthened the curriculum, for an enrollment of 46. In 1973, Dr. Miyaji was on leave, and Dr. Soga as Acting Director continued the successful tradition, with 67 students. NDFL support had practically disappeared, and Middlebury stood on its own strength. Dr. Miyaji returned to direct the session of 1974, with a staff of fourteen, offering four levels of instruction in the language, literature and culture of Japan, to 66 students.

The Japanese School is now firmly established as one of Middlebury's Language Schools, faithfully following the Middlebury idea. Great credit belongs to Dr. Hiroshi Miyaji for comprehending the idea so fully, and for putting it into action with determination, sagacity, and patience.

Chapter 10

CONCLUSION

The Foreign Language Schools of Middlebury College are a unique institution. Ever since that June day in 1915 when Fräulein Stroebe opened in Pearsons Hall the first advanced, specialized and isolated summer school of a modern foreign language in an American college, they have continued to pioneer, and at the same time have held firmly to their essential characteristics. The founders, Professors Stroebe, de Visme and Lacalle, created and defined the "Middlebury idea", and showed that it was functional and effective. The builders, especially André Morize, raised it to an accepted academic status, enlarged its scope, and gave it national and international prestige. New schools were added, new ideas tried. Changes in the profession have brought new adaptations. Many imitations have appeared, in other colleges and in federal programs, prospered for a time, and disappeared. Summer study of a foreign language is now common, and Middlebury has had great influence on its form and content. Nowhere, however, have *all* the basic principles of the Middlebury idea been as fully combined and as scrupulously enforced in a continuing program.

What then is the definition of the Middlebury Language Schools' uniqueness, and what are its component characteristics? The first, most fundamental, indeed the crucial one, is the Pledge: "I hereby promise, on my honor, not to use any English" except in designated circumstances or by special permission. Every student signs this pledge at the moment of enrollment, valid wherever he may be, until the moment of his departure. Only in recent special programs are beginners and intermediate students authorized to sign a modified pledge "to the best of my ability" progressively. The rule is strictly enforced and students are dismissed for willful violation.

Miss Stroebe put this requirement first in her 1915 announcement of the German School. Mastery of a foreign language comes only by constant practice, and she intended that her students should "hear and speak German from 8 in the morning until 10 in the evening." Constant practice meant especially outside of class, using non-academic language, the vocabulary of dormitory and personal life, extracurricular activities and recreation. A language under these circumstances becomes habitual, then subconscious; students begin to dream or to pun in the language. They begin to forget how something is said in English. There is no doubt that it causes a great deal of strain and frustration. Yet the pledge is central in the Middlebury definition, and rarely observed as strictly elsewhere. I agree completely with Dr. Remak who wrote in his 1970 Report that having watched other summer school ventures rise and fall, it is his conviction that strict enforcement of the pledge is essential to the Middlebury idea, and that any concession to permissiveness "will spell ultimate disaster."

The second basic principle is the dual condition of isolation from all other contacts and complete concentration upon the foreign language and culture. This is the reason for the pledge and its total extension. The student abjures not only the English language but all other stimuli save those of the foreign country. The ideal is to place him in a completely foreign milieu, insofar as it is possible. Each school has its separate residences, dining hall and classrooms. The faculty is composed of native teachers and a few bi-lingual Americans; the foreign language is used exclusively in class and outside. The isolation is much more complete than in Paris or Madrid, for there one cannot avoid Americans eager to talk English. The logistics of this segregation are not easy, with seven schools on a small campus; but it must be maintained, as hermetic as possible. The atmosphere and the very success of the school depend upon it.

The student's entire time and attention are concentrated upon the foreign language and culture. The instruction is of the highest quality, demanding the best effort of a carefully selected student. This is no easy ride; three hours of class, five hours of study and laboratory practice daily are a minimum, often exceeded. Middlebury pioneered in the development of the language laboratory, and its individual-carrel facilities are the best in the country. Two hours a day in the lab is the schedule for some courses. The professors are resident at the school, constantly available for consultation, unlike the usual European university.

The magic of Middlebury is in "living the language", the third element of its uniqueness. Other schools have good courses and dedicated teachers. Nowhere else is the life outside of class so rich, varied, and stimulating, all in the target language. Here in a beautiful setting of lakes and mountains, each school creates its own cultural atmosphere by activities and diversions which make the language live and give deeper meaning to the class instruction. Song-fests and student choirs are popular in some schools; folk-dances in others. Plays, dramatic readings, talent shows and skits are readily adaptable to circumstances, sometimes connected with class material. Picnics at the lake, inter-school sports competitions, swimming, and hiking on the Long Trail are favored by the more youthful. Many films are shown—features or documentaries—followed by informal discussions.

Most valuable are the conversations at meal-times, with teachers and students mingling informally. I regret the financial necessity of cafeteria service, since it prevents the planned mixing of faculty and students, and tends to permit the formation of permanent small groups. Teachers are inclined to stay by themselves, and the more timid students are often neglected. Especially in the larger schools, much attention and imagination need to be given to organizing the sort of culturally related activities in which the smaller schools often excel—Chinese painting and cooking, Japanese karate, Italian singing, Russian dancing. Middlebury is not an institution from which students scatter when classes are out; it is an experience of "total immersion" in which students "live the language and culture" in an integrated program of study, relaxation and diversion for 16 hours every day.

Nationwide improvement of the study and teaching of foreign languages is Middlebury's prime objective, and the fourth characteristic of its uniqueness.

Historically, the Middlebury Summer Session was begun to train teachers for Vermont. The Language Schools have explained for 60 years that their major business is the preparation and upgrading of teachers of foreign languages in our secondary schools and colleges. They have also trained members of the armed services and government agencies, business men, missionaries, workers in libraries, museums, and international organizations. They urge that increased study of foreign languages is in the national interest. Their ideal is "to help achieve a durable peace and real international cooperation, based on an understanding of our cultural heritage, and the thought processes of our neighbors in a small world."

The Middlebury Language Schools are *not* a university, nor even a college whose primary aim is to grant degrees in return for a fixed program of study and research. Applicants are admitted without being candidates for a degree; we judge only their qualifications and their serious professional motivation. The Language Schools grant more Master's degrees each summer than most universities; but that is only a by-product. Nor is research our major concern. The excellent College Library is not adequate for university-grade research; the brief duration of our summer session does not permit proper supervision here. A candidate for the D.M.L. is required to do enough research elsewhere under our supervision to prove that he is familiar with the techniques and tools of research. Research is not the end in view, but the means to an end.

The study of the language is primordial; all the rest of the curriculum depends upon it. Phonetics, stylistics, philology, linguistics, all contribute to it. As the student approaches a mastery of the language, he is more ready to understand the literature and civilization, the manifold expressions of "the thought processes of our neighbors." A comprehension of the political, social, literary and cultural development of a country is of vital importance to a teacher, and to anyone who has contact with its people. Middlebury's curricula in literature and civilization, rich and varied, taught by distinguished professors, are of the highest quality. They are not ends in themselves, however, either as academic exercises or as subjects of research. Their purpose is to enrich the student's understanding of the people; and to enable him to be a better teacher, a better professional, or a better neighbor. Any move to turn the Middlebury idea into a university-type degree program, with first emphasis on literary scholarship, is a distortion of our basic uniqueness.

The Middlebury Language Schools, as the first, have the distinction of being the oldest; and of having accumulated a momentum of 60 years. We have had many imitators, and some we might call disciples, which have come honestly to ask advice and guidance. Many have flourished for a time, and disappeared. There are now many, countrywide, more or less following the Middlebury pattern. None has the strength and the depth of the Middlebury tradition. It has thrown deep roots in the profession of language teachers, and its name is the symbol of the best. No one knows how many living alumni we have; a guess of 15,000 would be conservative; they include many of the leaders of our profession. We now enroll pupils of pupils of former pupils, going back several "academic" generations; and many actual children of former students.

A heart-warming aspect of this unique tradition is the devotion of so many persons who have served the schools for many decades. An institution is the crystallization of men and women. The Middlebury Schools have been abundantly blessed by the long continued service of many of its directors and teachers. Except for brief intervals, Joaquín Casalduero was connected with the Spanish School from 1932 to 1973; Vincent Guilloton in the French School 1932-69; Werner Neuse in the German School 1931-67; Salvatore Castiglione in the Italian School 1937-75; Jean Boorsch in the French School 1930-71, and Claude Bourcier 1936-75. Directors and teachers, like André Morize, Juan Centeno, Mischa Fayer, René Guiet, Mme Marguerite Fourel, Manuel Álvarez-Morales, and many many others, count two decades, a quarter-century, and more. This extraordinary record, and the self-sacrificing dedication it represents, are one of the reasons for Middlebury's success. These teachers came, giving up the leisure of a summer, accepting lower salaries than elsewhere, working with students 14 hours a day, out of sheer love of the task. Continuity of aim, a complete mastery of the method, and a deep human loyalty characterize hundreds of men and women who were the spirit of Middlebury through 60 summers. It is a precious tradition.

The Language Schools began in 1949 to add another dimension, their Graduate Schools Abroad. These four Schools of French, German, Italian and Spanish are integral parts of Middlebury, operated by the same administration and serving the same clientele for the same objective. The rotating Director of Studies is usually a member of the summer school faculty, often its director or dean. Students are prepared for the year abroad by a required summer here; the required studies are patterned on the Middlebury program; the Master's degree is awarded by and at Middlebury College. No other college gives its own graduate degree for the same integrated requirements under the same control. The plan has been imitated, but it remains unique. The four schools differ from each other in their relationship to the foreign university, the School in Spain being entirely independent of it.

The recent acceptance of a small group of qualified undergraduates in each school abroad introduces a new set of circumstances and a need for caution. There are many undergraduate study abroad programs, some good, many bad. Middlebury will find it more difficult to be outstanding here, even if not unique. Undergraduates are often as mature and as well qualified linguistically as graduate students, but they cannot be treated just the same. Most European universities consider an American A.B. the standard prerequisite for admission to regular university courses. Below that, special arrangements have to be made. Undergraduates need somewhat more supervision in making their living arrangements. Most important, when a graduate student and an undergraduate sit in the same class and do the same work, they are not happy if both receive the same academic credit, nor if one receives graduate and the other undergraduate credit. By its long experience, Middlebury has an opportunity to perform a real service for selected undergraduates abroad, but their programs and management will have to be carefully distinguished in several ways from our Graduate Schools.

The Middlebury Language Schools must continue to grow. Their unique definition and their long traditions are not a limitation, but a foundation for new and imaginative ways to achieve their constant goals. The Middlebury idea is still seminal for the future. Of the scores of major languages in the world, only eight, including English, are represented at Middlebury. When space and administrative manpower permit, schools of other major languages should be added. We have dabbled in Portuguese at various times. The language of half of the South American continent should have greater place in our planning. Only Europe and the Far East are now represented on our campus. South Asia looms large on the linguistic and cultural as well as the diplomatic horizon. Hindi should be seriously considered, and perhaps Tamil. It is desperately urgent for Americans to know more about the Near East, its culture and its ways of thinking. Under different circumstances, Middlebury could have had a School of Arabic ten years ago. And may we dream of Swahili and the languages of Africa, of Cantonese beside Mandarin, of Korean, of the languages of Scandinavia and of the isles of the seas?

All such new schools will have to accept beginners, as we did for Chinese and Japanese. By definition, this is a violation, for beginners cannot take the pledge. They must be permitted to speak and to hear English. The same danger confronts the recent addition of the Intensive Language Program (ILP) of undergraduate courses at the beginning and intermediate levels in the present schools. The valuable opportunity for service must be accompanied by a realization of the dangers to the basic definition of the Middlebury Schools—the exclusive use of the foreign language.

These dangers can be minimized, though not totally avoided, by wise and firm enforcement of certain principles. The first is isolation; when speaking English, the beginners and intermediates must be strictly segregated from the students who have signed the pledge. Secondly, even the beginners and intermediates must take a modified pledge to use the target language to their maximum ability at all times, and not to use English to advanced students. Third, only on the basis of a graduated and progressive control of the language should they be permitted to come progressively into contact with the advanced students. This critical point will be reached at different times for different students, and may be determined by tests, and by the student's own willingness to take and abide strictly by the pledge, or to be silent. This stage of "total immersion" is painful, most frustrating, but very rewarding. For the administration, it requires complex arrangements for dormitory and dining, more and flexible space, time, and personal attention. It would be disastrous for the entire reputation of Middlebury if our fundamental clientele of advanced and graduate students could complain that the atmosphere and the experience they seek is spoiled by hearing English, or the foreign language spoken badly.

Middlebury's Graduate Schools Abroad must also grow. The concept is viable for other places than Western Europe. Graduate students working in many universities of the world would profit from supervision, guidance, and even protection by an experienced representative of Middlebury, and would be happy to receive an American degree for the completion of an arranged and approved program of study.

I was much disappointed that the attempt I made in 1959 to establish a Middlebury Graduate School of Russian at the University of Moscow did not succeed. With the help of Dr. Raymond Saulnier, a Middlebury trustee, I communicated with Ambassador William S. B. Lacy, then in charge of East-West Exchanges of the U.S. Dept. of State. The Dept. of State was favorable, but the Soviet Union required an even exchange of students without cost, frowned on the role of a resident director of studies, and preferred a period of less than a full academic year. Again in 1970, Dr. Baker and I made a proposal of a semester of study at Leningrad State University, as a part of a program operated by the Council on International Educational Exchange, and which Dr. Baker had assisted in setting up. Several of our Middlebury undergraduates had participated in the CIEE Russian programs. Our graduate students would spend a semester in Leningrad, bracketed by three summers at Middlebury. This did not work out because the CIEE plan required that the students be enrolled in Middlebury during the academic year, not the summer. We need not give up hope that some combination acceptable to the Soviet Union will eventually be found.

More likely of early realization is a Graduate School somewhere in South America. In my five months' visit to South America in 1962-63, I made a careful analysis of many of the South American universities with this in mind. There are many difficulties: the academic calendar is usually opposite to the North American calendar, cutting across two academic years; politics dominate most administrations, and student disturbances are frequent; the curriculum of each Faculty is rigid, exclusive, and unsuitable; open libraries and study facilities are often mediocre. There are some exceptions, especially among the private and Catholic institutions. One of those most worthy of consideration is the Universidad de los Andes in Bogotá, Colombia, which is free from the difficulties just mentioned. It is by coincidence the university where Dr. Eduardo Camacho Guizado, Director of the Spanish School, was Dean.

It is not too soon to begin investigating the possibilities of a Graduate School of Chinese, perhaps in Hong Kong or Taipei; and of a Graduate School of Japanese, perhaps in Kyoto. The wisdom, experience, and wide contacts of Dr. Ta-Tuan Ch'en and of Dr. Hiroshi Miyaji could guide us in setting up study programs which would give structure and American recognition to the studies that many Americans are now doing on their own. The strength of our Oriental Schools, the importance of Oriental studies in the national interest, and the wide range of professional careers which can profit from resident study in the Far East, leave no doubt of the need for further extension of the Middlebury idea. We would probably be wise to limit such programs to graduate students. Regrettably, a program in the Near East must wait until the situation is more peaceful.

The Middlebury Language Schools were founded on a unique idea, and they have remained unique for 60 years. This idea has been their charter in the profession, and their key to national and international service; it must be guarded well. They have pioneered in many ways; their history is a chronicle of dynamic and progressive action. It augurs well for the future.

Appendix 1

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Reports by Miss Chun-Jo Liu, Meng Ma, Ta-Tuan Ch'en, and Hiroshi Miyaji, to S. A. Freeman, 1966-1970.

Appendix 2

ENROLLMENTS IN THE LANGUAGE SCHOOLS

	French	*German*	*Italian*	*Spanish*
1915		41		
1916	20	64		
1917	37	38		63
1918	52		2	114
1919	102			95
1920	200			78
1921	180			91
1922	183			105
1923	204			92
1924	123			75
1925	128			76
1926	190			65
1927	262			79
1928	286			83
1929	306			97
1930	292			81
1931	295	43		88
*1932	288	45	22	56
*1933	240	38	38	39
*1934	304	53	50	52
*1935	329	58	52	54
*1936	302	50	70	51
*1937	361	57	62	76
*1938	331	52	74	59
*1939	355	66	82	60
*1940	359	50	71	116

* The figures of these years include duplicate enrollments. In the Italian School of 1934-40, duplicate enrollments from the French and Spanish Schools averaged 32 a year; in the Spanish School of 1940-43 the number was large.

Enrollments (continued)

	Chinese	*French*	*German*	*Italian*	*Japanese*	*Russian*	*Spanish*
*1941		287	54	45			238
*1942		194	36	36			326
1943		174	38	24			203
1944		257	71	40			216
1945		317	73	44		42	223
1946		351	69	59		51	220
1947		361	74	56		76	216
1948		365	82	32		78	222
1949		362	84	30		77	238
1950		309	84	25		74	232
1951		317	73	22		75	181
1952		270	59	40		79	162
1953		271	42	39		67	155
1954		266	51	35		89	135
1955		279	60	29		80	154
1956		287	79	66		71	161
1957		313	106	41		84	190
1958		338	110	57		124	190
1959		364	155	65		136	206
1960		347	176	55		144	253
1961		374	205	69		132	263
1962		381	207	67		140	265
1963		355	216	65		136	255
1964		380	219	68		115	284
1965		383	231	67		125	270
1966	49	382	223	65		111	286
1967	30	353	227	66		103	295
1968	49	345	221	74		124	285
1969	53	363	194	85		88	259
1970	59	338	150	60	27	91	258

Appendix 3

MASTER OF ARTS DEGREES

awarded at Summer Language Schools Commencements

	French	*German*	*Italian*	*Spanish*
1920	1			
1921	1			1
1922	0			0
1923	5			1
1924	1			4
1925	2			10
1926	9			5
1927	7			10
1928	12			6
1929	24			7
1930	25			8
1931	24			10
1932	26			7
1933	22	3		6
1934	30	4		3
1935	33	3	1	4
1936	26	3	1	8
1937	26	4	3	8
1938	32	3	2	3
1939	38	3	5	2
1940	41	3	6	7
1941	29	5	3	9
1942	29	4	3	1
1943	13	1	1	9
1944	7	5	5	6
1945	7	2	4	6

MASTER OF ARTS DEGREES (continued)

awarded at Summer Language Schools Commencements

	French	*French in France*	*German*	*German in Germany*	*Italian*	*Italian in Italy*	*Russian*	*Spanish*	*Spanish in Spain*
1946	18		2		2			18	
1947	22		9		6			9	
1948	28		6		3		5	20	
1949	30		9		3		4	25	
1950	26	31	8		2		3	44	
1951	14	34	7		2		3	23	
1952	16	32	8		1		2	18	12
1953	12	31	2		4		7	16	11
1954	13	34	1		3		2	13	14
1955	18	28	3		3		2	11	24
1956	8	44	2		3		1	12	15
1957	12	30	4		2		2	9	36
1958	12	41	4		3		6	13	34
1959	8	25	2		7		2	13	25
1960	17	38	2	20	6		15	12	36
1961	23	46	7	17	2	8	8	18	34
1962	35	44	9	26	5	11	11	21	39
1963	18	43	10	33	5	11	12	42	54
1964	35	45	20	34	4	10	12	29	64
1965	47	88	19	33	5	19	10	35	68
1966	63	65	25	30	2	12	9	40	60
1967	52	71	26	47	3	15	18	40	75
1968	48	69	34	40	6	21	11	38	73
1969	60	64	26	37	7	20	5	41	78
1970	44	97	23	30	6	21	4	32	73

Appendix 4

HONORARY DEGREES

awarded at Foreign Language Schools Commencements

1929	Miguel de Zárraga	Master of Arts
1937	Georges Ascoli	Doctor of Letters
	Alexander Rudolf Hohlfeld	Doctor of Letters
	Pedro Salinas	Doctor of Letters
1940	Tomás Navarro Tomás	Doctor of Letters
1942	André Mayer	Doctor of Letters
	Francisco Castello Najera	Doctor of Letters
	Pierre de Lanux	Doctor of Humane Letters
	Fernando de los Ríos	Doctor of Laws
1944	Lilian Louise Stroebe	Doctor of Pedagogy
1946	Henri Bonnet	Doctor of Laws
	Leo Spitzer	Doctor of Laws
1948	Henry Grattan Doyle	Doctor of Letters
1949	Karl Ernst Feise	Doctor of Letters
	Daniel Mornet	Doctor of Letters
1950	Gabriella Bosano	Doctor of Letters
	Michael Karpovich	Doctor of Letters
	Stella Livermore Christie	Master of Arts
1951	George Kenneth Holland	Doctor of Laws
1952	William Clyde De Vane	Doctor of Humane Letters
	Camillo Pascal Merlino	Doctor of Letters
	Eleanor L. Turnbull	Master of Arts
1953	William Riley Parker	Doctor of Letters
1954	Pierre Bédard	Doctor of Letters
	Carl Frederick Schreiber	Doctor of Letters
1955	Cesare Barbieri	Doctor of Science
	Robert Herndon Fife	Doctor of Letters
	Norman Lewis Torrey	Doctor of Letters
1956	Angel del Río	Doctor of Letters

HONORARY DEGREES (continued)

1957	Henri Maurice Peyre	Doctor of Letters
1958	Juan Trippe	Doctor of Laws
1959	James Edward Allen, Jr.	Doctor of Laws
	Édouard Morot-Sir	Doctor of Letters
1960	George Winchester Stone, Jr.	Doctor of Letters
	Bruno Erich Werner	Doctor of Letters
1961	Friedrich Wilhelm Wentzlaff-Eggebert	Doctor of Laws
1962	F. Gordon Boyce	Doctor of Laws
1963	Kenneth Warren Mildenberger	Doctor of Laws
1964	Vincent Guilloton	Doctor of Laws
	Philip Edward Mosely	Doctor of Laws
1965	Germaine Brée	Doctor of Laws
	Louis Joxe	Doctor of Laws
	Charles Southward Singleton	Doctor of Humane Letters
	Gerhard Storz	Doctor of Letters
1966	Francisco García-Lorca	Doctor of Letters
	Luís Muñoz Marín	Doctor of Laws
1967	John Brademas	Doctor of Laws
1968	Donald Devenish Walsh	Doctor of Humane Letters
1969	Mischa Harry Fayer	Doctor of Letters
	Werner Neuse	Doctor of Letters
	Ernest J. Simmons	Doctor of Laws
1970	John Hurt Fisher	Doctor of Letters
1971	Jean Boorsch	Doctor of Letters
	William Jovanovich	Doctor of Letters
1972	John Alexander Pope	Doctor of Letters
1973	Nelson Herbert Brooks	Doctor of Letters
	Joaquín Casalduero	Doctor of Letters
1974	William G. Moulton	Doctor of Letters

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